

245035

JPRS 81242

9 July 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2031

19981202 126

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A
Approved for public release;
Distribution Unlimited

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 3

REPRODUCED BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

10
118
AΦ6

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

9 July 1982

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2031

CONTENTS

ALBANIA

Trade Union Resolution on Agriculture (PUNA, 10 Jun 82).....	1
Trade Union Resolution on Social Sectors (PUNA, 10 Jun 82).....	5
Resolution on Construction, Communications, Communal Economies (PUNA, 10 Jun 82).....	9
Resolution on Tasks in Industry, Mining (PUNA, 10 Jun 82).....	13
Trade Union Auditing Commission Report Published (PUNA, 8 Jun 82).....	17
List of Leading Trade Union Organs, Members (PUNA, 10 Jun 82).....	21
Briefs Delegations To Trade Union Congress	25

BULGARIA

Speeches Delivered by Delegates at Dimitrov Conference (Various sources, various dates).....	26
Ponomarev Speech	
Axen Speech	
PCF's Lazard Addresses Conference	
Cuban Delegate's Speech, by Antonio Perez Herrero	
Cuban Radio Reports Delegate's Speech, by Antonio Perez Herrero	
KWP Delegate's Speech, by Kim Yong-nam	
Zimyanin Speech	

Czyrek Addresses Meeting,
 Bilak Speech
 Zhivkov Speaks
 Ponomarev Speaks at Meeting
 Spanish Delegate's Speech, by Romero Marin
 Mongolian Delegate Speaks, by Yumjaagiyn Molomjants
 Romania's Popescu Speaks
 Afghanistan's Ziray Speaks
 SRV Delegate Greetings, by Vo Chi Cong
 Italian Delegate Speaks, by Renato Zanghieri
 PCP's Alvaro Cunhal Address
 'HORIZONT' Carries Axen Speech

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Religious Oppression, Resistance Cited
 (Various sources, 5,6, 16 Jun 82)..... 103

 Persecution of Priests
 Catholic Activists, by Angelus Waldstein-Wartenberg
 Secret Church

POLAND

New Solidarity Activities, Structures Noted
 (Joana Radzyner; PROFIL, 1 Jun 82)..... 111

TRADE UNION RESOLUTION ON AGRICULTURE

AU202046 Tirana PUNA in Albanian 10 Jun 82 p 3

[Resolution of the ninth congress of Albanian trade unions on the tasks of the trade union organizations of agricultural workers in implementing the tasks of the Eighth AWP Congress--approved in Tirana on 9 June]

[Text] We, the delegates of the ninth congress of Albanian trade unions representing the agricultural working class, meeting in a special section, inspired by the message of greetings addressed to his congress by the AWP Central Committee, and having acquainted ourselves with the report delivered to the congress by Comrade Rita Marko in the name of the plenum of the Albanian Trade Unions Central Council, declare ourselves to be in full solidarity and steel-like unity around the party and its Central Committee led by Comrade Enver Hoxha. We declare that in the future, too, we will exert all our efforts to successfully fulfill all the objectives set by the ninth congress of the Albanian trade unions and the Eighth AWP Congress for the development, intensification and constant progress of our socialist agriculture, as a primary branch of our people's economy.

In implementing the party's agrarian policy, the agricultural trade unions have intensified their work for ideopolitical education, the elevation of consciousness, and the mobilization and development of the creative thinking of the workers in order to fulfill the tasks set out by the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Implementing the very important task set by the Eighth AWP Congress, the working class in the agricultural enterprises have added to their achievements in 1981 and particularly during the first 5 months of the current year. Increases were attained last year in both agricultural and livestock products. Compared with the previous year, the agricultural enterprises produced more grain, industrial crops, meat, milk, vegetables, fruit and so forth.

The directives for the Seventh Five-Year Plan confront the agricultural workers with important tasks in increasing production. The trade union organizations will, therefore, intensify their geopolitical work with the agricultural workers, that they may profoundly understand and implement the party's important directive concerning the development of agriculture, which is to be achieved relying entirely on our own forces. They will combat manifestations of unilateralism that are observed. They will implant a deep belief in the need

to fulfill the plan under all headings, giving priority to reducing production costs and increasing profitability through the active participation of the working people in carrying out economic and financial analyses in order to eliminate the losses incurred by some enterprises and branches.

1. Particular attention will be devoted everywhere to strongly developing socialist emulation on the basis of studying, generalizing and disseminating advanced experience, this being a great reserve for the fulfillment of tasks. The revolutionary initiatives of working collectives are to be stimulated everywhere, and a serious stand will be adopted toward them. Moral stimuli are to be used everywhere.

The good results and initiatives and pledges of the Maliq and "Clirimi" agricultural enterprises in grain production; of the Vrine agricultural enterprise to achieve this year the corn and sunflower yields planned for 1985; the initiative of the Cerme sector of the "29 November" agricultural enterprise and of the center sector of the "Red Star" agricultural enterprise in Kames to achieve yields of 4,500-5,000 liters of milk per cow; the initiative of the "17 November" agricultural enterprise for the production of vegetables; of the Diber, Berat and Lukove enterprises for the production of fruit, and of the Vlore motor tractor station to fulfill the five-year plan in 4 years and 6 months, are to serve as an example to everyone in fulfilling and overfulfilling the planned tasks in all agricultural enterprises.

2. The directives of the Eighth AWP Congress for the Seventh Five-Year Plan in the agricultural sector will be achieved like never before through intensification. The fact that 90 percent of the increase in total agricultural production will be achieved by increasing yields requires that agriculture be better placed on a scientific base. This means that the trade union organizations must make every effort to further deepen the technical and scientific revolution, and must better support and stimulate the creative thinking of the masses in the scientific organization and management of production, widely implementing advanced experience and technologies and the results of scientific experimentation.

The fulfillment of the tasks on increasing production makes it more essential than ever before to activate the working people and specialists in the scientific treatment of the soil by improving landscaping, drainage, irrigation, fertilization and so forth; to raise its fertility; to improve breeds; to improve work with livestock and its fodder base; to extend horticulture, fill in gaps in the plantations and increase yields; and to transform forestry enterprises into complex economic units.

3. Attaining planned yields at the lowest possible cost, particularly in the production of grain, vegetables, fodder crops and in the production of meat, milk and some industrial crops, as well as increased accumulation, confront the agricultural trade unions with the need to intensify their educational work with the working people, so that they may utilize the material base to the maximum and as effectively as possible, increase mechanization, and strengthen the regimen of thrift and the utilization of raw and ancillary materials in accordance with correct criteria.

The example of the motor tractor stations of the Sarande and Shkoder districts in maintaining and fully utilizing the stock of machinery, and in increasing their load work in order to reduce the time schedules of various operations as an important technological factor in the intensification of agricultural production, is to be followed.

4. In the framework of the general intensification of agriculture, the trade union organizations are confronted with special tasks to give priority to the intensification of agriculture in the most fertile plains of the country. The intensification of production in this area requires raising the level of educational work carried out in order to implant a correct world outlook among the workers, specialists and cadres concerning the great possibilities and reserves existing everywhere to raise yields through a fuller utilization of the existing material and technical base and the scientific implementation of agrotechnical measures.

5. The trade union organizations are to better and more continuously tackle problems pertaining to the technical and vocational qualification of the workers, in order to fully implement the instruction given by the Eighth AWP Congress that our society requires knowledgeable people, with a broad professional horizon, competent technicians, organizers and managers, passionate scholars and creators.

The trade unions must pay particular attention to perfecting the forms for the qualification of the workers and their continual training, so that they may better meet the demands of the current stage of intensive development of our agriculture. Manifestations of formalism and the underrating of this, which are observed in the development of the various forms of qualification and in the courses, must be combatted everywhere.

6. The trade union organizations in the motor tractor stations, soil improvement and water conservancy boards and in the agricultural research institutions must consider their tasks as being fulfilled only when the enterprises and cooperatives where they are serving have fulfilled their agricultural and livestock plans under all headings, carrying out a more scientifically-based effort in the current five-year period. At the same time this requires a more and more responsible systematic follow up of contract relations in order to carry out every work process in good time and with high quality. Periodic checks and comparisons are to be made in order to prevent violations in schedules and nonfulfillment of tasks.

7. The education of the workers in a socialist attitude toward work and property remains a fundamental task of the trade union organizations. They must further raise the consciousness and mobilize all members in fulfilling the tasks for developing agriculture on the road of socialism.

The work of the trade union organizations to constantly strengthen common socialist property, to protect and administer this property, and to properly utilize all material and monetary values in order to increase production and ensure a high degree of economic effectiveness must be further improved. Petty bourgeois concepts and attitudes are to be opposed to prevent damage and misuse of socialist property.

8. All the work of the trade union organizations in the agricultural enterprises and sectors should serve to implement the correct agrarian Marxist-Leninist policy pursued by our party in strengthening and reinforcing the alliance between the working class and the cooperativist peasantry.

9. The trade union organizations should further improve their work methods so that they will better serve the revolutionary class education of the working masses, perfect work organization and management, strengthen proletarian discipline at work, expand and perfect norms, have all agricultural workers realize their norms, better utilize work time and increase its effectiveness.

In order to successfully realize the tasks set by the ninth Albanian trade union congress to implement the decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress, the trade union organizations' work and role as important party levers to educate the workers in a revolutionary way, and mobilize them, must be raised further. This is a major factor in realizing and overfulfilling the plan's objectives to increase agricultural and livestock products.

This resolution should be worked out by September 1982 in the local councils and the trade union organizations of agricultural workers.

[Signed] The Ninth Albanian Trade Union Congress

CSO: 2100/67

TRADE UNION RESOLUTION ON SOCIAL SECTORS

AU221545 Tirana PUNA in Albanian 10 Jun 82 p 4

[Resolution of the Ninth Congress of Albanian Trade Unions on the tasks of the trade union organization of education, culture, health and trade workers in implementing the tasks of the Eighth AWP Congress--approved in Tirana on 9 June]

[Text] Inspired by the great ideas of the Eighth AWP Congress, its clear objectives and secure prospects opened by its historic decision, the workers of education, culture, health and trade have further raised their feelings of responsibility and work with greater mobilization to fulfill the set tasks for continually raising the workers' educational and cultural standard, preserving and strengthening the people's health and comprehensively improving trade services.

The achieved results in these fields are incomparable. But the Eighth AWP Congress and the Central Committee's programmatic greeting addressed to the Ninth Congress of Albanian Trade Unions determined that raising the quality of work was to be a fundamental task in all sectors.

To implement these directives the Ninth Congress of Albanian Trade Unions has directed the trade union organizations and all workers of education, culture, health and trade to concentrate their attention and work in the following directions:

1. To intensify all ideopolitical work with all education, culture, health and trade workers so that the suggestion of Comrade Enver Hoxha and the party to have the working man and the fulfillment of his material and cultural needs at the center of attention will always be implemented everywhere.
2. The trade union organizations of education must devote their attention to implementing the direction of the Eighth AWP Congress to raise the quality of schools, the teaching process' scientific standards, its productivity and efficiency so that it will better meet increasing needs and demands.

The work in schools must be raised to a higher level to furnish the younger generation with contemporary knowledge, better and more quickly embodying in school programs and texts new achievements in science and production. [as printed]

They must better work to prepare pupils for work and life, devoting care to the formation of their practical abilities and technical intuition on the basis of a wider theoretical horizon. To educate and cultivate the younger generation for work and defense, the tie between learning and life and the practice of productive work must be further strengthened.

Better work than at present must be done to further consolidate secondary professional education. Special attention must be paid to agricultural schools and those attended by workers to raise their quality and discipline.

3. Educational problems in schools should be looked at in close connection with the school's own preoccupations. The trade union organizations should become more involved in strengthening discipline, raising the teaching process' scientific standard and qualification and disseminating progressive experience.

Special attention should be paid to perfecting the teacher's moral-political character; raising their ideological and professional standard to widen the cultural and scientific horizon and raise teaching mastery; and struggling against formalism, liberalism and the spirit of being easily satisfied.

4. The trade union organizations of the Ministry of Education and other institutions must strengthen their cooperation with the trade union organizations of the departments in order to train specialists having a secondary and higher education; they must better engage themselves in determining subjects, drafting plans, programs and so forth.

The schools should draw on social ideas and opinion to cultivate pupils, schools and student youth with the healthy characteristics of the educated.

Cooperation must be further improved between the trade union organizations and the organs of education, directories of pedagogic councils and youth organizations in schools so that the pupils' and students' voice--their ideas and observations--on the school's progress will be listened to more closely. Cooperative measures with the trade union organizations in work and production centers must be taken to enrich the school's material base.

5. In all our cultural activity we must take into consideration that strengthening the proletarian party spirit, socialist class spirit and the national characteristics of our culture assumes a special importance and acuteness in the present conditions of the imperialist-revisionist blockade and encirclement.

6. Special attention must be paid to raising the quality of creativity and cultural-artistic activity. Art and culture workers must continually work to raise their ideological, cultural, scientific and professional level.

Artists, writers and all cultural workers must lead an active life amidst the masses to better know life and better reflect current themes and treat large contemporary problems.

7. The trade union organizations in the press sections, publishing houses, radio-television, and cultural-artistic institutions should work to create a warmer, more creative atmosphere everywhere, using various discussions, direct contacts with the masses and fruitful exchange of experience through the most varied forms. The cultural-artistic institutions should continually aid in a qualified way the amateur artistic movement so that its artistic level will be further raised and should not be carried out in campaigns.

The trade union organizations and workers must show greater care to increase their influence to further raise culture in life, rapidly develop culture in villages, acquaint and disseminate scientific knowledge, further develop the amateur artistic movement and so forth.

The workers of cultural institutions should show special care for their work with books, press, artistic and scientific films and other things in order to spread wide and necessary knowledge among the masses, organize technical-scientific information, extend production propaganda, and disseminate progressive experience in every field, ensuring a wider cooperation with the mass organizations, specialists cadres and vanguard workers.

Priority work should be done to enliven cultural-artistic activity in the centers where there is a large group of workers, in the most important sectors such as oil, mines and sawmills where there are more workers living in villages and so forth.

8. More attention should be paid to the workers' free time, holding various cultural-artistic and sports activities, evening meetings to spread the best experience and political and scientific information, and meetings with writers, artists and scientists.

Actions should be taken to create educational and entertaining environments and to construct libraries and museums in enterprises. Continual work must be done to create the best sports terrains to qualitatively raise and place on a more massive scale the physical-cultural and sports movement. The trade union organizations should exercise better control to realize approved state funds to develop culture, sports and so forth.

9. Health workers have important tasks to strengthen and preserve the people's health. Implementing the principle of prevention, special attention should be paid to improving hygienic and sanitary conditions and raising the workers' standard of health knowledge.

Health propaganda should be continually accompanied with concrete actions to create everywhere the most cultured environments.

The trade union organizations should better work to raise the workers' feelings of responsibility for their tasks and to raise everywhere the quality of health services and treatments, to rehabilitate those who are ill with the most progressive methods, to raise on a higher level dental, pharmaceutical and to do other services.

10. Attention should be paid to strengthen preventive measures, extend health services especially in the villages and raise mother and child care and the scientific level of medical services.

11. Health service in the enterprise should be further extended and intensified. Cooperation with the trade union organizations of work and production centers should be further strengthened to further intensify preventive work, showing care for the work environment, technical security and protection at work, to intensify measures to prevent professional illnesses and so forth. These things should lead to considerably lower periodical inefficiency at work.

12. The main task of the trade union organizations of trade is to educate workers to further raise their moral character so that they fully deserve the honorable name "servant of the people." For this, educational work should be built on the basis of deeper knowledge of the situation, psychology and so forth. Alien manifestations should be combatted such as unequal services, unconcern toward property, unattractive behavior with buyers and so forth.

The trade union organizations of the trade sector in their work should devote special attention to contact with the masses to exercise a continual control with the aim of raising the quality of services, knowing and better fulfilling people's demands, improving the culture of services and so forth.

The workers and trade unions organizations of trade which work in the large projects, deep zones, in oil, mining, sawmills and other places should raise their responsibility for cultural services and create the best living conditions for workers.

13. Trade workers should carry out more organized work in cooperation with the other economic organs to prevent low-quality products and the creation of stocks, and to distribute in time necessary goods of quality and variety to the people.

14. Special attention should be paid to the trade of goods in villages to better support the initiatives and measures recently implemented for the further narrowing of the cooperativist plots and the herding together of livestock.

15. To accomplish these tasks, it is important to further enliven the activity of the trade unions in the sectors of education, culture, health and trade. In securing the leading role of the party organizations better, they should further raise their authority and enliven all their work.

Work methods should be improved so that every worker analyzes and implements the party's directives. The trade union organizations should be concerned with major problems, make deep analyses, carry out criticism and self-criticism, spread the best experience and mobilize all workers to realize tasks which develop a strong socialist emulation.

This resolution should be worked out within July 1982 in the local councils and trade union organizations of the education, culture, health and trade sectors.

[Signed] The Ninth Congress of Albanian Trade Unions

RESOLUTION ON CONSTRUCTION, COMMUNICATIONS, COMMUNAL ECONOMIES

AU211537 Tirana PUNA in Albanian 10 Jun 82 p 4

[Resolution of the Ninth Congress of Albanian Trade Unions on the tasks of the trade union organizations of workers of the construction, communications and communal economies to implement the decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress, approved in Tirana on 9 June]

[Text] Inspired by the historic decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress in steel-like unity with the party and its Central Committee led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, construction, communications and communal workers have achieved good results in the fulfillment of the plan's tasks. The growth of construction was placed on a higher scale, tasks in transport were better realized, and services to the people were further improved.

The directives set by the Eighth AWP Congress to further develop construction, transport and communal services are completely feasible and require the mobilization of all mental and physical capacities of the working class and workers in these sectors in order to realize them.

To implement the directives of the Seventh Five-Year Plan the Ninth Congress of the Albanian Trade Union directs the trade union organizations and all construction, communications and communal workers to concentrate their attention and work in the following major directions:

1. The organizations and workers of the construction, communications and communal economies should intensify their ideopolitical work to better and more deeply understand the great tasks set in this five-year plan, to increase mobilization at work so that the plan will be rhythmically realized in every unit and in all its economic-financial indexes.

2. Construction workers should further raise their feelings of responsibility and should take all necessary measures to further industrialize construction works, to draft national projects which are durable and justify expenditure. They should work for a perfected organization paying particular attention to the concentration of construction works.

They must work to increase socialist awareness at work to raise the quality of industrial works as well as housing. For this reason there must be more discussions arranged, the best experience must be disseminated and work must be intensified to qualify and prepare construction specialists.

Special care must be shown for construction projects in villages to complete them in time with high quality and low costs.

3. Communication workers should concentrate on rationally utilizing all means, giving priority to railroads, to the further and rapid mechanization of loading-unloading, to the better utilization of trailers and capacities of loading.

Responsibility should be raised to save fuels, eliminate useless parallel movements with railways, maintain vehicles, evaluate other means of transport such as wagons, cable transport, shuttle car railways, internal transport in enterprises and so forth.

To fulfill these tasks the trade union organizations should show greater care to know, disseminate and implement the best experience to save fuels and tires, to increase technical readiness and the coefficient of utilization.

They should work to further perfect the moral stature of all transport workers, and especially that of sailors and drivers who travel outside the country, so that they can better face the pressures and influences of the bourgeois-revisionist world.

4. The post-telecommunication workers also have important tasks to further raise the quality of communication services to better answer the people's demands in time.

5. Communal workers should mainly concentrate on raising the quality of services and shortening their time limits. They should work so that discipline, organization and mass control are dominant everywhere. They should better work at various recycling and repair services which are demanded by the people.

More care should be shown for cleanliness, beautifying cities and inhabited centers and especially for hygiene and cleanliness in the countryside, extending the network of roads and waterpipes.

They should better maintain apartments in the city. For this reason, along with their own duties, the trade union communal organizations should work to strengthen cooperation with the mass organizations in the quarters and blocks, so that everywhere the masses' healthy opinion for order, cleanliness, culture and maintenance of the environment and housing will be raised.

6. The trade union organizations of these sectors, led by the party, should further raise the work standard for the workers' ideopolitical, technical-professional, physical and military education. This education should become more concrete and closely tied to the problems which preoccupy the various categories of workers to implant everywhere the class spirit and its ideology.

In educating workers various forms should be used which are compatible with the standards, conditions and tasks of the workers. Care should be shown to wage an uncompromising struggle against petit-bourgeois remnants and alien

concepts and manifestations which do not comply with communist morals or socialist ideology and psychology, against bureaucratic and liberal attitudes, bureaucratic delays and disregard for the workers' opinion. For this they should further strengthen class and mass control from below to qualitatively accomplish all tasks in time.

7. The trade union organizations should continue to explain the party's economic policy, to raise the workers' active participation in drafting and implementing the state plans, to make them aware and mobilize them to work with drive, emulation and an attacking spirit, to develop their creative initiative, revolutionary pride, feelings of high responsibility, to work with strong proletarian discipline, productivity, quality and a high spirit of thrift.

Special attention should be paid to work norms, to extending work governed by technical norms and lowering the number of workers who do not fulfill their norms by 50 percent and so forth.

8. The trade union organizations should encourage and support progressive experience, revolutionary action and initiatives of collectives and individuals to shorten time-limits on the construction of new projects, to increase the time vehicles are in motion, to shorten the time taken in loading and unloading, and to qualitatively fulfill services to the people on time.

The state and economic organs should show more care and more strongly support the workers' initiatives with a material-technical base, with cooperation and experimentation and with organization and control so that they will be implemented and disseminated.

9. The trade unions, state and economic organs should further improve their work to raise the workers' educational and technical-professional standard, especially that of young workers, to assimilate and implement contemporary technical-scientific knowledge.

More concern should be shown to improving work in qualification course and in the schools attended by workers, raising participation in them and the benefits gained from them. The demands of professional and cultural qualification should serve to raise professional capabilities and improve production indexes.

The trade union organizations, led by the party, in cooperation with the state and economic organs, should raise their level of care and better fulfill the needs and demands for creating suitable environments at work and in life, for technical security and protection at work, for supplying workers with collective and individual protective means, for organizing cultural activities and workers' relaxation, for improving health services, food, transport, sleeping facilities and so forth. These problems should be more closely and concretely followed, especially on the large construction sites.

10. They must work to educate workers in respect for the strict implementation of regulations, technical security and use of protective materials, and should more strongly combat instances of unconcern by some administrative workers who

are negligent in these directions. They must increase their concern in the field of state social securities, should properly pursue problems of periodic inefficiency at work, invalidism, physical and professional rehabilitation of workers, and the most correct implementation of social security laws.

11. To fulfill the important and great tasks which the party has set for the trade unions, it is necessary to devote uninterrupted concern to strengthening the organization, revitalizing its life and activity, discussing social problems and debating ideology. The improvement of work methods, based on the party's materials and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings to organize differentiated work with workers and encourage them in action is of foremost importance in this direction.

The trade union organizations should listen more closely to the workers' proposals and ideas, and their voice and experience should be better brought into the party. Criticism and self-criticism of weaknesses and defects at work should be revitalized. Cooperation with the state and economic organs and with the other social organizations should be strengthened to make workers aware of the situations in which we work, and for the construction of socialism based entirely on our own forces.

This resolution will be worked out by July 1982 in the local committees and trade union organizations of the construction, communications and communal economies.

[Signed] The Ninth Congress of the Albanian Trade Unions

CSO: 2100/67

ALBANIA

RESOLUTION ON TASKS IN INDUSTRY, MINING

AU191543 Tirana PUNA in Albanian 10 Jun 82 p 3

[Resolution of the Ninth Congress of Albanian Trade Unions on the tasks of the trade unions of the working people in industry and mining for the implementation of the tasks of the Eighth AWP Congress, approved in Tirana on 9 June]

[Text] Inspired by the historic decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress and in steel-like unity around the party and its Central Committee led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the working people in industry and mining have achieved important results in fulfilling the plan. Total industrial production, labor productivity, the cost reduction plan and other economic and financial indicators were fulfilled and overfulfilled in 1981, as well as in the first 5 months of this year.

The directives set out by the Eighth AWP Congress for the rapid and sure development in all branches of industry are fully feasible and require the mobilization of all the mental and physical capabilities of the working people in this sector to be transformed into reality.

To ensure the implementation of the Seventh Five-Year Plan the Ninth Congress of Albanian Trade Unions directs the trade union organizations and all the working people in the heavy and mining industry, the energy sector and light industry and the food industry to concentrate their attention and effort on these major directions:

1. To further raise the work of the trade union organizations to implant among all workers profound beliefs about the absolute necessity to resolutely fulfill all planned tasks under all headings, indicators and sections, this being a major prerequisite for the country's continued socialist construction which relies entirely on our own efforts.

Combatting concepts and practices of globalism, efforts are to be made everywhere to fulfill the planned tasks in a rhythmical way by every worker, brigade, sector, unit and enterprise daily, every 10 days and monthly. Greater efforts must be made in this respect by the working people in the oil, mining and metallurgical sectors.

The aim must be to continually reduce production costs and to calculate these costs accurately in order to raise their effectiveness and to improve financial indicators. Every trade union organization must work to generalize and disseminate the initiative of the "steel of the party" metallurgical combine to constantly reduce costs by making better use of work schedules and by strengthening the regimen of thrift through a 1-2 percent annual reduction of the norms for the utilization of raw materials, fuels, electricity and so forth, particularly in oil, mining, metallurgical and other industries.

The products of these branches of industry form the largest portion of the export plan. The trade union organizations must, therefore, further stimulate the creative and innovative thinking of the working people to produce export goods in good time and according with the quantity and quality required and to reduce imports of raw and other materials, equipment and machinery.

2. The broad development of the industry and mining sector, in which 46 percent of all investments will be made, confronts the trade union organizations with the task of working intensively with their members to raise the effectiveness of production under all headings.

Particular attention is to be devoted to fulfilling the tasks pertaining to increased labor productivity and the rational utilization of working time. Efforts are to be made to raise the degree of mechanization in all enterprises in the industrial sector, particularly in the mining and timber enterprises, to 90 percent by the end of this 5-year period. Mobilization is to be raised, and persistent demands will be made at all levels to fully implement all the technical and organizational measures required to raise labor productivity over 15 percent, in accordance with the initiative of the "Enver Hoxha" Automobile and Tractor Combine and numerous other enterprises. In the mining sector, implementing the initiative of the Prenjas miners, the rate of advancement is to be increased about 60 percent over the current level; in the oil and gas drilling sector and speed achieved by the advanced experience in the area is to be achieved by all, increasing the average drilling speed by about 30 percent over the average attained.

More rapid progress is to be made in introducing technical working norms so that by 1985 over 75 percent of the working time be occupied by technical norms. Social assistance among workers is to be better organized and the state and economic organs are to take all the necessary measures to create normal conditions for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of norms by all workers.

3. A radical improvement in the quality of products must constitute one of the important directions of the work of the trade unions. The working people in the mining sector are to raise their efforts to extract high quality minerals, particularly chrome ore. Workers in the engineering industry are to make responsible efforts to raise the quality of spare parts, equipment and machinery. Working people in the light and food industry are to work with greater imagination to produce new and high quality articles to meet the ever growing demands of the population for consumer commodities.

4. Socialist competition is to be further developed to include all workers in the industry and mining sector in a creative effort to successfully fulfill all the tasks of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. Competitions are to be better organized in teams, units, sectors and enterprises in order to attain the level of the more advanced. Varied forms of stimulation such as comparisons of results and other moral stimuli are to be better used.

The trade union organizations are to stimulate revolutionary initiatives, actions and movements by working people to advance the completion of projects, to save electricity, to ensure rapid progress in mining and drilling operations. To set up new production lines, units and factories and to produce new machinery, equipment and articles. The management of enterprises, the Ministry of Energy, the Ministry of Industry and Mines and the Ministry of Light Industry and the Food Industry are to show greater solicitude in strongly supporting such initiatives with the necessary material base, cooperation and experimentation in order to carry them out and disseminate them everywhere.

5. The intensification of production in the industry and mining sector is closely connected with the further deepening of the technical and scientific revolution and the widespread development of the innovatory and rationalizing movement. Their purpose must be to improve existing technologies; the improvement of exploitation systems in the mines to reduce waste by at least 10 percent; efforts must be made in the oil industry to maintain production in all sandy soil fields at a constant level; greater efforts must be made in some sectors of the light and food industry to overcome the present artisan stage of production, to apply new technologies and so forth.

6. Taking into consideration the fact that the level of training does not correspond fully with the growing needs of production, a better studied effort is to be made by the trade union organizations and the state and economic organs to raise the educational and vocational standards of the working people, to master contemporary technical and scientific knowledge and to place them in the service of the development of the economy. In the oil, mining and metallurgical sectors, as well as in the new branches of industry, proper importance is to be attached to training courses, the improvement of programs and texts and to widely practice the system of tutelage in order to train able specialists for these sectors.

7. An important and constant duty of the trade union organizations in the industry and mining sector lies in the ideopolitical education of the workers with the party's and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings and in the implementation and defense of the party's line to constantly adopt a proper attitude toward work and socialist property and to increase the participation of the workers in the management of production and the country's administration.

The trade union organizations must constantly and resolutely wage the class struggle against alien concepts and manifestations that are not compatible with the norms of communist morality. They must stand up more resolutely against bureaucratic and liberal attitudes which hinder the voice of the masses and lead to a weakening of the people's regime.

Educational work is to be linked more closely to the problems preoccupying the working people in enterprises, must be better adapted to their characteristics and must be concrete, differentiated and well argued, always taking into consideration the particular situations, age groups, length of service, the interests of the workers, their demands and so forth.

Education must be closely linked up with the development of events and must serve to strengthen the vigilance against external and internal enemies, the increased degree of readiness of the working people for the country's defense and to successfully confront bourgeois and revisionist encirclement.

8. Importance is to be attached to strengthening the trade union organizations and to make their activity more lively. They must better communicate the party's directives to the working people, mobilize them to implement these directions and bring to the party the voice and experience of the masses. Criticism and self-criticism of weaknesses and shortcomings at work must be made more lively. All forms must be used for the education of the working people, particularly to acquaint them precisely with the laws pertaining to the rights and duties of the working people, living conditions, technical security, safeguards at work, the recreation of the working people, and the creation of cultured surroundings and various sociocultural facilities. The cooperation with other mass organizations and with the state and economic organs is to be further intensified.

This resolution is to be worked out within September in the local councils and organizations of the trade unions of the industry and mining workers.

CSO: 2100/67

TRADE UNION AUDITING COMMISSION REPORT PUBLISHED

AU171344 Tirana PUNA in Albanian 8 Jun 82 p 2

[Report on activity of the Central Auditing Commission of the Albanian trade unions, presented by commission chairman Hasan Alimerko at Ninth Congress of Albanian Trade Unions in Tirana on 7 June 1982]

[Text] Comrades, the historic decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress and Comrade Enver Hoxha's programmatic report have created a fiery revolutionary atmosphere throughout the country. Led by the working class, our people are working with new revolutionary fervor and relying entirely on their own efforts to achieve the great tasks stipulated by the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

The working class and the trade unions are coming to this congress with a steel-like unity around the party and its Central Committee, led by Comrade Enver Hoxha. They are ready to undertake new and even greater tasks in the construction of socialism and the country's defense.

The warm greetings message of the AWP Central Committee constitutes another programmatic document for the working class. In this document the trade unions find new inspiration and important tasks in raising the level of their work to implement the historical decisions of the Eighth AWP Congress.

Comrades, the Central Auditing Commission of the trade unions has improved its work method and raised the quality of its control and assistance to a higher level during the period between the two congresses.

The controls exercised and a study of the materials of the Central Council and of the activity of the organization show that under the party's leadership the trade unions have grown, strengthened and vitalized. There has been a qualitative improvement in the work of the leading organs and of the apparatus, assistance for the base has been better organized, the links with the mass of members have been strengthened and agility has been shown in tackling, treatment and resolving of problems.

The trade unions have extended and deepened the range of problems examined in the fields of financial questions, maintenance of property and the examination of the demands and complaints of the working people.

The budgets approved for each year have been met. Compared with 1977, 1981 revenues rose 16 percent over 1977, with an average annual growth rate of 3.8 percent, while expenditure increased 9 percent, thus creating a surplus of income.

Revenues from membership dues, which represent about 80 percent of all revenues have been met and overfulfilled by all district trade union councils.

The constant development and strengthening of the economy has resulted in an increase in the size of the working class. The trade unions have increased their ranks. The number of members of the trade unions in 1981 was over 25 percent higher than in 1977. However, more can be done in some districts to register new workers on time and to plan incomes more precisely.

The approved expenditure funds have well served their purpose, their structure has been improved. And expenditure has taken place on sounder criteria. Thus, funds have been used particularly to raise the qualitative standard of propaganda in various forms of publications, for the education and qualification of trade unions members in the 1-year school, in 3-month courses and various seminars; for recreation centers and so forth. The regimen of thrift has been at the organization's center of attention, particularly in the direction of economic-administrative expenditure.

Thanks to the correct policy pursued by the party and the state, our socialist order is being constantly strengthened and consolidated. The well-being of the working class and working masses has been raised at a time when inflation, rising prices, increased taxation and chronic unemployment strike at the living standards of the workers in all capitalist and revisionist countries.

Acting on the proposal of the AWP Central Committee Politburo, the Council of Ministers announced the decision to reduce some consumer commodity prices and tariffs for communal services. This represents another great victory of the party's policy, a reflection of the constant vitality of our socialist economy and the result of the tireless efforts of the working class and all working people. This is another testimony that our party and state are doing everything for the well-being and happiness of the people.

Our state is expending large sums for the construction, equipment and administration of sociocultural institutions and for improving working conditions. An entire network of institutions and of educational and recreational centers is functioning in our country.

Tens of thousands of workers and young pioneers are spending their annual vacations in the most beautiful and climatically healthy surroundings. Tens of thousands more are spending their weekly vacations there. The conditions in these centers have constantly improved and they have been better equipped and furnished.

In accordance with the directives of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, the trade unions are carrying out a great effort to ensure the widespread participation of the working people in improving legislation and the organization of work, they are listening carefully to the voice of the masses and are resolving problems as they arise. The fact that 490,000 working people participated in the meetings to examine the new labor bill, that 96,000 took an active part in the discussions and that 11,000 suggestions were made, some of which were incorporated in the new code in 1980--all this is very significant.

The Central Auditing Commission acquainted itself with the practice of writing letters to central trade union bodies. It considers that the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions has treated the letters as raising important questions and as being a reflection of implementing the line of the masses, of socialist democracy and of listening to the voice of the masses; as forms of direct worker control, of links with the masses and of the confidence that the working people have in the party, the people's regime and the elected organs of the trade unions. These letters have been examined most carefully and have been answered in a timely way. Generalizations have been made and tasks have been drawn for the apparatus and dependent organs of the trade unions, and interventions have been made and tasks have been drawn for the apparatus and dependent organs of the trade unions, and interventions have been made to central departments and institutions to resolve questions that have been raised.

Some of these letters have raised appropriate questions and they have been resolved in favor of the working people, this shows that individual managers and administrative officials should have studied these matters more profoundly and resolved them. At the same time, there have been letters written by individual working people containing demands and complaints that are incompatible with legal provisions.

The trade union organizations and the state and economic organs must more widely ensure a more profound understanding of duties and rights, to acquaint themselves and the workers with legal provisions and ensure their implementation without concessions, and to listen to the voice of the masses and strengthen control against bureaucratic and liberal actions.

Although it has tried to carry out its tasks in accordance with statute provisions during this period, the Central Auditing Commission has also shown shortcomings in its activity, particularly concerning extending and deepening its control and better assisting the work of the organization.

The trade union organization has a large aktiv of auditing commissions consisting of thousands of members both centrally and in the districts. It also has a rich experience which must be more widely used in the future in order to fulfill the tasks entrusted it.

Comrades, the Ninth Congress of the Albanian Trade Unions will provide a further stimulus to the organization's work as a school of communist education. It will further raise its role in mobilizing the working class to successfully fulfill the tasks stipulated by the Eighth AWP Congress, which are clearly reflected in the report delivered by Comrade Rita Marko, a report which we endorse.

The working class will also struggle in the future to further temper the unity around the party. It will constantly sharpen its revolutionary vigilance and will always be ready to defend our socialist country, and the victories it has attained, against the external and internal enemies to make the life of our people more prosperous and happy.

Long live the glorious AWP!

Long live our heroic working class!

Long live Comrade Enver Hoxha, the beloved leader of our party and people!

CSO: 2100/68

ALBANIA

LIST OF LEADING TRADE UNION ORGANS, MEMBERS

AU161645 Tirana PUNA in Albania 10 Jun 82 p 2

[Text] Composition of the leading organs of the Albanian trade unions:

Members of the General Council of Albanian Trade Unions:

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Adem Tukaj | 32. Florida Marku |
| 2. Agim Kacemi | 33. Flutura Bregu |
| 3. Aferdita Gjyzeli | 34. Flutura Celkupa |
| 4. Aferdita Mahile | 35. Foni Frasheri |
| 5. Athina Meloneshi | 36. Flan Baba |
| 6. Ahmet Ckurti | 37. Frrok Cupi |
| 7. Angjelina Preka | 38. Geg Kacorri |
| 8. Arif Gjati | 39. Gezim Laska |
| 9. Arqile Mehilli | 40. Gezim Kruja |
| 10. Asllan Musai | 41. Gjon Bardhi |
| 11. Bajame Mara | 42. Hajrulla Gruda |
| 12. Bajame Xhelili | 43. Hamide Arbana |
| 13. Behije Lici | 44. Hasan Bekteshi |
| 14. Bexhet Tilaj | 45. Hasie Horesku |
| 15. Donika Hoxhari | 46. Haxhi Tafa |
| 16. Donika Llazari | 47. Idriz Dhrami |
| 17. Drane Riolli | 48. Ilo Themeli |
| 18. Drita Demaliaj | 49. Ismail Meria |
| 19. Dhespina Naqellari | 50. Ismail Nika |
| 20. Eftimi Lito | 51. Ismete Isai |
| 21. Elvira Zeneli | 52. Jorgo Duka |
| 22. Faik Cina | 53. Jorgo Dushi |
| 23. Faik Hasanllari | 54. Jorgji Babi |
| 24. Farie Salicaj | 55. Josif Minga |
| 25. Faredin Hoxha | 56. Kleanthi Koci |
| 26. Fatime Limani | 57. Kostandin Kola |
| 27. Fatmira Caka | 58. Kristaq Sulovari |
| 28. Fathira Zeneli | 59. Kristaq Todri |
| 29. Ferdinand Nenshati | 60. Kudrete Pepa |
| 30. Filip Kota | 61. Lavdosh Luari |
| 31. Flora Xhaxhiu | 62. Leandro Zoto |

- | | | | |
|------|------------------|------|--------------------|
| 63. | Liljana Kareci | 111. | Ruzhdi Pulaha |
| 64. | Liljana Luarasi | 112. | Sabri Uliu |
| 65. | Liri Babe | 113. | Sadie Mavruçi |
| 66. | Lirika Nune | 114. | Sadik Doko |
| 67. | Luciana Dervishi | 115. | Serafin Papandili |
| 68. | Lule Cupi | 116. | Servete Rrabo |
| 69. | Lumturi Agolli | 117. | Simon Shestani |
| 70. | Llesh Lleshi | 118. | Skender Hoxha |
| 71. | Manushaqe Mandri | 119. | Sofie Cela |
| 72. | Margarita Musta | 120. | Sotir Kocollari |
| 73. | Medin Seferi | 121. | Sprio Lengo |
| 74. | Mehill Nikolla | 122. | Spiro Lera |
| 75. | Minella Dalani | 123. | Stavri Lepuri |
| 76. | Miti Nito | 124. | Stavri Skendo |
| 77. | Muhamet Bila | 125. | Strati Marko |
| 78. | Muhamet Tafaj | 126. | Sulejman Duka |
| 79. | Muharrem Bejleri | 127. | Sulejman Haka |
| 80. | Myslym Bogdani | 128. | Sulejman Skura |
| 81. | Naim Demiri | 129. | Shefqet Cela |
| 82. | Namik Dokle | 130. | Shejnaze Troshani |
| 83. | Nasi Dhamo | 131. | Sheme Mara |
| 84. | Nasto Piperi | 132. | Shenasi Zeneli |
| 85. | Ndoc Lepuri | 133. | Tatiana Papa |
| 86. | Nekie Bedo | 134. | Tatiana Shkurti |
| 87. | Natasha Beqiri | 135. | Telisfor Lumezi |
| 88. | Natasha Jaho | 136. | Thanas Diamanti |
| 89. | Nimet Cani | 137. | Thomaidha Xhelili |
| 90. | Olimbi Ikonomi | 138. | Vangjel Mehilli |
| 91. | Osman Dellinja | 139. | Vangjel Prifti |
| 92. | Panajot Boga | 140. | Vangjel Vengu |
| 93. | Pandora Milaj | 141. | Vangjeli Lena |
| 94. | Perparim Muca | 142. | Vangjeli Totoni |
| 95. | Petrit Kotili | 143. | Vasil Anagnosti |
| 96. | Petro Nushi | 144. | Vasilika Gruzhdani |
| 97. | Pilo Peristeri | 145. | Veronika Preci |
| 98. | Piro Nole | 146. | Viktor Gjika |
| 99. | Pjeter Gjoni | 147. | Vito Kapo |
| 100. | Priamo Bollano | 148. | Violeta Rama |
| 101. | Ramiz Mema | 149. | Vjollca Kavardari |
| 102. | Raship Hashorva | 150. | Zace Malaj |
| 103. | Razie Hyka | 151. | Zarif Salia |
| 104. | Reshat Kuka | 152. | Zarife Ternova |
| 105. | Rexhep Shehu | 153. | Zija Xholi |
| 106. | Rina Ndoni | 154. | Zhani Cifliku |
| 107. | Rita Marko | 155. | Xharrie Ferrici |
| 108. | Riza Burrja | | |
| 109. | Roza Vata | | |
| 110. | Rozeta Dibra | | |

Candidates of the General Council of Albanian Trade Unions:

- | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Dallendyshe Fetahu | 9. Pavlina Daka |
| 2. Diamanta Peca | 10. Rasim Vata |
| 3. Frida Stasi | 11. Terpo Rado |
| 4. Halil Zeneli | 12. Thanas Barka |
| 5. Hyrie Aliaj | 13. Vasil Puci |
| 6. Isa Hitaj | 14. Vera Cepi |
| 7. Mark Curri | 15. Veronika Beno |
| 8. Namik Hasani | 16. Xhafer Dosti |

Central Auditing Commission of the Albanian Trade Unions:

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Gjok Gjini | 8. Qimo Kocani |
| 2. Hamidushe Sulko | 9. Taqo Lako |
| 3. Ilia Carapuli | 10. Vasil Santo |
| 4. Kristo Papajani | 11. Vjollca Tivari |
| 5. Kristaq Prifti | |
| 6. Lek Sinaj | chairman: Qimo Kocani |
| 7. Mynyr Moska | secretary: Kristaq Prifti |

The Presidium of the Central Council of Albanian Trade Unions:

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Dhespina Naqellari | 12. Osman Dellinja |
| 2. Eftimi Lito | 13. Perparim Muco |
| 3. Faik Cino | 14. Rita Marko |
| 4. Farie Salicaj | 15. Riza Burrja |
| 5. Kleanthi Koci | 16. Skender Hoxha |
| 6. Gjon Bardhi | 17. Sotir Kocollari |
| 7. Hasan Bekteshi | 18. Spiro Lengo |
| 8. Idriz Dhrami | 19. Stavri Skendo |
| 9. Kristaq Todri | 20. Zarif Saliaj |
| 10. Miti Nito | 21. Zija Xholi |
| 11. Nimet Cani | |

Rita Marko: President of the General Council of Albanian Trade Unions.

Secretaries of the General Council of Albanian Trade Unions: Adem Tukaj, Farie Salicaj, Idriz Dhrami, Nimet Cani, Sotir Kocollari and Shenasi Zeneli.

The General Council of the Albanian Trade Unions elected from its midst:

1. The Central Council of Trade Unions for Industry, Mining and Energy with 47 members.

chairman: Faik Cina. secretary: Shenasi Zeneli.

2. The Central Council of Trade Unions for Agriculture, with 32 members.

chairman: Stavri Skendo. secretary: Nimet Cani.

3. The Central Council of Trade Unions for Construction, Communications and Communal Services, with 32 members.

chairman: Hasan Bekteshi. secretary: Farie Salicaj.

4. The Central Council of Trade Unions for Education, Culture, Health and Trade, with 32 members.

chairman: Zija Xholi. secretary: Adem Tukaj.

CSO: 2100/68

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

DELEGATIONS TO TRADE UNION CONGRESS--Tirana, 17 Jun (ATA)--The delegation of the Arab Trade Union International Confederation; the delegation of the Metallurgists' Union of Brazil; the delegation of the National Workers' Union of Mali; the delegation of the Worker Assembleista Association of Spain; the delegation of the Trade Union Federation of Palestine; the delegation of the Trade Union Congress of Zimbabwe; the delegation of Revolutionary Workers of Japan; the delegation of the Peasant Confederation of Peru; the delegation of Pan-African Congress of Azania; the delegation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition of Canada; the delegation of Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition of Denmark; the delegation of the National Commission for the founding of the Independent Center of Revolutionary Working People of Ecuador; the delegation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition of Britain; the delegation of National Worker Commission of the Dominican Republic and the delegation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition of France, which attended the proceedings of the 9th Congress of TUA [Trade Unions of Albania] left Albania. Present to see the delegations off at the airport were the secretaries of the General Council of the TUA Sotir Kocollari, Adem Tukaj and Shinasi Zeneli. [Text] [AU171148 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 17 Jun 82]

CSO: 2020/49

BULGARIA

SPEECHES DELIVERED BY DELEGATES AT DIMITROV CONFERENCE

Ponomarev Speech

AU201630 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Jun 82 pp 2-3

[Speech by Boris Ponomarev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, at the opening plenary session of the international theoretical conference: "Georgi Dimitrov's Cause and Our Present Epoch" on 15 June 1982 at the Sofia Palace of Culture]

[Text] Dear comrades, this representative forum has gathered to celebrate the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov, great son of the Bulgarian people; heroic fighter against fascism and war, one of the most outstanding leaders of the communist movement.

Our meeting is taking place at a historical moment full of responsibility. The international situation is perhaps the most complicated of the entire postwar period. The development of the forces representing social progress continues and is assuming new features. The stream of revolutionary innovation throughout the world is becoming increasingly powerful. At the same time, the threat of a worldwide nuclear conflict is growing and has once again reached a dangerous limit. Tensions have intensified in various parts of the world. This demands from us, communists, from all progressive fighters resolutely to intensify our activities in solving the crucial problems which occupy the hearts and minds of people and above all, to ensure lasting peace for all peoples.

I think that the best way of celebrating and commemorating the great communist Georgi Dimitrov is to focus on the most topical problems of the movement to which he devotes all his intellect talents and energies, to which he wholeheartedly dedicated his entire life.

His heroic duel with fascism at the Leipzig trial will be remembered by history as an exceptionally brilliant example of the behavior of a communist leader under the most difficult circumstances. He transformed the defendant's dock into a revolutionary rostrum, from a defendant he became prosecutor, and he put the Nazis--the organizers of the Reichstag fire--on the pillory.

I had the opportunity of working 10 years with Georgi Dimitrov and to become well acquainted with his ideas and deeds. He was not only a fireless revolutionary but, at the same time, an extraordinary humanitarian.

He was inspired by a feeling of protest against any kind of oppression and injustice.

Care about the interests of working people, concern for his fellow-workers and for comrades from other communist parties--these were essential characteristic features of Dimitrov's work.

Georgi Dimitrov was a charming man--he was the model of a true communist.

Georgi Dimitrov made a tremendous contribution to the development and consolidation of the International Communist Movement. His name is linked with the further development of the political line and organizational forms of the communist movement and with the 7th Comintern Congress. His name is inseparable from the resistance movement and the heroic deeds of the communists in defeating fascism.

Dimitrov was a wise leader of the Bulgarian workers class and its vanguard--the Communist Party--a leader in the Leninist mold. He was the founder of the Bulgarian socialist state, as well.

Georgi Dimitrov's whole life and all his activities represent brilliant examples of service to the workers class, to the class of socialism. He set the example of a political and state leader, for whom patriotism and proletarian internationalism are one and the same. He set an example in communist activity and in making a profound analysis of the essence of Leninism. He set an example of mastering Marxist dialectics.

What is the essence of Dimitrov's ideological heritage for our contemporary epoch? First, Dimitrov was one of the first to sound the alarm, to warn about the threat of a second world war. He was also one of the first to point out the need for peaceloving forces to join forces with a powerful, new factor for peace, such as the Soviet Socialist State.

This experience is particularly topical today, under circumstances when joint actions of the socialist states and of all other peaceloving forces have become the most important prerequisite for preventing nuclear disaster. Together with communists in other countries, the CPSU and Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, our party's secretary general and outstanding political leader of our epoch, are devoting all their efforts to this.

Second, Dimitrov--and this is also very topical--analyzed and developed the idea of a broad antifascist coalition, he thus applied, with particular reference to the conditions in the thirties, the Leninist concept about the

alliance between the workers movement and democratic movements. Dimitrov expressed the tenet of a state's being based on "real people's democracy," on an antifascist democratic government. The vitality of these ideas is confirmed by the approach of communist parties to the questions of a transitional stage in the struggle for true democracy and socialism.

In boldly rejecting outdated methods and forms, in proposing new tenets and new slogans, Dimitrov made an invaluable contribution to the development of a policy based on broad people's alliances.

Third, Georgi Dimitrov devoted great attention to coordinating national specific factors with a consistent internationalist approach. Stressing each communist's obligation to educate the workers and all other working people in a spirit of internationalism, Dimitrov pointed out the necessity of "adjusting" proletarian internationalism "to the climate" of each country, so as to give it the opportunity to become deeply rooted in national soil.

Fourth, as a participant in building socialism in the USSR during one of the most difficult, if not the most difficult, periods of creating the new system, Dimitrov professed unshakable faith in the great strength of this system and in its tremendous constructive opportunities. He considered the defense and preservation of all socialist achievements as a vitally important international duty of every communist and every participant in the liberation movement. On this question, he based himself on common prospects for worldwide development, on the future prospects of the struggle of working people in all countries for peace, democracy and socialism.

When Bulgaria started on the socialist path, Dimitrov worked out a program of social transformation which--while keeping in mind basic laws, tested for the first time in the Soviet Union, and bearing in mind Soviet experience--envisaged the construction of socialism in Bulgaria as determined by the national characteristics of this country and by the new world situation.

I. Today, as during the thirties, in Dimitrov's life time, the increase of the threat of war and the intensification of the aggressive character of imperialism are linked to the development of objective class processes, to the experience of the forces of imperialist reaction and social backwardness, which are trying to stop the progress of history. There is, however, a difference of principle. Under present conditions, in which imperialism possesses nuclear missiles, a similar attempt is likely to lead all mankind to the brink of disaster.

Today the following allusions are being made in the Western press and also in statements of well-known political leaders: the postwar period allegedly has been over for a long time, and we are now living in another "pre-war" period. Such pessimism is being exploited by the "hawks," who are declaring that since a nuclear war is inevitable anyway, they should operate on the

assumption that this war can be "limited" and "won." The CPSU rejects such views as a matter of principle. The CPSU thinks that the conclusion drawn a quarter of a century ago by the communist movement is still valid today: namely, that there are real possibilities to prevent a world war.

It is a well-known fact that, at the price of great efforts, the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the other fraternal countries succeeded in liquidating the military superiority of imperialism and achieving a military balance with the United States and NATO. This is a remarkable historical contribution by real socialism to the struggle for peace and social progress.

The question of preserving the military balance which has been achieved by socialism is an essentially new factor in the strategy of the struggle to prevent world war. This question has now become the focus of a large-scale political and ideological struggle.

Neither the Soviet Union nor its allies are striving to achieve military superiority. Socialism does not need such superiority in order to achieve the goals dictated by its nature. CPSU considers as its historical task preventing imperialism from disrupting the existing arms balance.

The forces which have grown from the national liberation movement, which now possess the means and opportunities of state power, are making a significant contribution to the current anti-war struggle. Despite differences in system and other differences among these countries belonging to the so-called Third World, these countries, rallied in the nonaligned movement, are capable of well-organized and purposeful actions. This is an absolutely new antiwar factor, one that did not exist in Dimitrov's time.

The characteristic of the present balance of forces is that the anti-imperialist area of the international arena is considerably larger than that of the socialist system, while the range of action of the peaceloving forces is even bigger than that.

Changes are taking place in the very bastions of imperialism, changes which are essential for the prospects of preserving peace. The wave of mass demonstrations which flooded numerous countries, including in those countries visited by Reagan during his European tour, one more eloquently showed that the masses are increasingly becoming aware. They are recognizing, under the mask of peaceloving attitudes, the aggressive, adventurous intentions of the U.S. ruling circles and are more and more resolutely insisting upon a really peace-loving policy.

There are many scientists, physicians and politicians among those who are struggling against the endless rearmament and the military threat, who are fully aware of what a nuclear war would mean. They are well oriented not only on technical matters but also on the mechanism used in making political decisions. Scientific workers, engineers and technical specialists directly connected with the arms industry have joined the antiwar movement. All this makes the antiwar demonstrations more effective and more specific.

The question of the principled mutual relations between communists and organizations and movements of another orientation, which represented a serious problem at the time of Georgi Dimitrov, is to be given primary attention. Dimitrov and the communists did resolve this problem at that time, and even resolved it in an optimal manner. Under the new conditions, communists are now striving to master the art of interacting with the various antimilitary forces by overcoming mistrust and competition.

This affects cooperation in antimilitaristic activities, which has to be defended, without crossing over to positions of class conciliation. In addition to this, the communists must deeply and skillfully master the complex military-technological issues and specific characteristics of each international problem. This is a necessary prerequisite for assisting the masses and for making them participate in the antiwar movement.

In that, it is not necessary for communists to "conceal" their affiliations to Marxist-Leninist ideology, or their class view on the course and nature of world developments. The communists, for example, must unmask the imperialists' attempts to drain the antiwar movement of its political essence and, moreover, to use it for anti-Soviet purposes.

The historic mission of the communists is not simply to call for halting the arms race, but also to show who and what are hindering a halt to his arms race. Thus, it is not enough to talk about the need to overcome the division of the world into confronting military blocs and to reject the so-called "bloc approach" in politics. One must take into account the decisive and principled difference between the bloc policy of the United States and NATO, and the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence followed by the socialist countries of the Warsaw Pact. We should not become reconciled to the fact that the responsibility for intensifying the military threat sometimes is attributed to both the imperialist and socialist countries. To do so would mean to deceive the peoples and encourage the arms race, and also to join those who are blowing the trumpet about a "Soviet military threat."

The Soviet public and the working people in our country are a component of the entire antiwar movement. Our contribution to the struggle against the military threat is predetermined by the nature of our social system, and by the Soviet Union's capacities. The CPSU and the Soviet leadership are proceeding from L. I. Brezhnev's statement to the 26th CPSU Congress... "to reply upon a victory in a thermo-nuclear war, is a dangerous madness." (26th CPSU Congress, Reports and Decisions, C., 1981 p 32) In our international activity, our congress assigned a primary task of spreading no efforts to saving the peoples from the threat of a nuclear war. The 26th CPSU Congress peace program for the eighties, the tremendous and tireless work of our party's Central Committee and primarily of L. I. Brezhnev is comprehensively focused on implementing this program. The Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and L. I. Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, are waging a selfless and tireless struggle to safeguard world peace. This is a great heroic deed in the name of mankind, and a heroic deed of world and historic importance which deserves maximum support.

What is the characteristic trait of all Soviet initiatives? What are the main ideas of these initiatives? They aim at eliminating military threat in a global, regional and bilateral sense. They also aim at limiting the zones of possible confrontation, and thus to expand the zones of cooperation as a basis of safeguarding and strengthening peace. They also provide for extending the limits of confidence in Europe and in the East, and establishing nuclear-free zones--zones of peace--as well as for limiting military activities on the world oceans.

The Soviet initiatives also include the readiness of our country to discuss any other proposals based on the principle of equality and equal security. They are in keeping with the interests of all peoples and are connected with the everyday needs of working people from all countries. The realization of these initiatives would mean not only a guarantee for peace, but also the release of assets that could be used to reduce the burden of unemployment and inflation in the capitalist countries, as well as to increase aid for the developing countries and raise the standard of living of all peoples.

The Soviet Union is also proceeding from this stand at the UN General Assembly second special disarmament session. The main thing, in our opinion, is to proceed from the phase of words to the phase of deeds. Petitions from all over the world are being submitted to the UN General Assembly special session. The petitions are signed by millions of people. The voice of the people has to be heard. The people's request to halt the arms race and to undertake practical measures to guarantee a lasting peace has to be fulfilled.

You can compare the Soviet peace program with the U.S. foreign political program. If we take away the verbal wrapper, we see that the United States has no program for limiting and halting the arms race. It only has a program for increasing military arsenals in the long run.

Under the influence of the peace-loving policy of the socialist countries and the antiwar movement, the U.S. president was at least forced to agree to talks on limiting and reducing strategic weapons. This is a positive fact.

However, we must look at the general U.S. strategy which was fully revealed in the latest speeches by President Reagan and in the "explications" which Weinberger, Haig and Clark are making almost each week. Once, the former British prime minister, Winston Churchill, left for the United States to deliver a speech in Fulton which marked the declaration of the first "cold war" against the socialist countries. Some 36 years later, a speech was delivered at the British House of Commons proclaiming a "crusade" against communism and the forces of social progress.

This antisocialist and anti-Soviet strategy is being followed in all directions, and it includes:

--A "psychological war," including political and material support for the counterrevolutionary and saboteur's activities against the socialist countries;

--An economic war limiting trade and credit relations, and "economically exhausting" socialism by enforcing an arms race with the latest types of weapons;

--The main and most dangerous component of this strategy, however, is the course toward achieving U.S. and NATO military strategic superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact. As is now evident from the directives made public by the U.S. Department of Defense, this course is a preparation for war against the USSR and against the other socialist countries whose goal, as is pointed out in these directives, is to "annihilate socialism as a sociopolitical system."

All this is backed by a military budget of multibillions. This also is backed by the well-known plans on deploying U.S. missiles close to USSR borders, the launching sites of which are already being built here and there.

Comrades, these are plans of war and not peace. They are aggressive plans and not plans on talks or reducing arms. At the Versailles and Bonn meetings, the United States tried to impose this course on its allies.

Imperialism is also to be blamed because the threat of a thermonuclear war originates from it, and also because of its policy of confrontation and interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, as well as its policy of arms race and neocolonialism. Imperialism creates an atmosphere of constant international tension which is favorable for the emergence of so-called conventional wars in which hundreds of thousands of people have perished within the last 30 years. These wars have caused unbelievable damage and suffering to the people. This actually, is the atmosphere of the colonial war which British imperialism is waging against Argentina, and also the Iraqi-Iranian conflict which has become a long war with tens of thousands of absolutely innocent victims.

In this atmosphere and in front of the entire world, gradually and openly the massive Israeli military intervention in Lebanon and a destructive war against the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples were prepared and executed. A significant part of the territory of a sovereign state has been occupied. The blood of many innocent citizens is being shed. Thousands of innocent people are being killed. The very existence of Lebanon as an independent state has been put in question. It is no secret to anyone that U.S. imperialism is behind this inhuman aggression of Tel Aviv, which not for the first time is boldly provoking the entire world public. This is the line of Camp David, which aims at turning the Middle East into a military-political U.S. base.

Comrades, the question is, can we foil the misanthropic militaristic strategy of imperialism? We can and we must. The leading circles in the imperialist camp are to be taught the lessons of World War II. Years ago the communists and Georgi Dimitrov warned the warmongers of the war's consequences. What were the lessons? In many countries which were a part of the capitalist

system, there were revolutions as a result of the war, capitalism was liquidated and a world socialist system was organized. The sinister warmongers--the leaders of German and Italian fascism and Japanese imperialism--received the reward they deserved and were forever cursed by mankind.

This time the very crime against mankind--the kindling of a new world war--can and must be prevented. The constant development of the mass antiwar movement, which has real socialism as a reliable support and loyal ally and which relies on its consistent and honest policy--which takes into consideration the interests of all peoples--is a guarantee of the success of the peace-loving forces.

We communists have the great responsibility of activating all peace factors. In our opinion, the following directions of activity must be stressed:

--To bring to the consciousness of everyone the thought of the catastrophic consequences of nuclear war;

--To clarify the reasons for the increased international tension, so that the aggressive course of imperialism can be unmasked, to point out the concrete ways leading toward taming the arms race and decreasing the danger of war, to point out the concrete ways leading toward taming [as published], to clarify the communists' positions on the problems of war and peace, and to explain the socialist countries' foreign policy course;

--To actively oppose the attempts of militarist circles to weaken the antiwar and antimissile movement through anti-Soviet propaganda and lies about the "Soviet military threat";

--To clarify that the task of preserving peace requires united and joint efforts, and that in order to implement it one needs a dialogue among the different fractions and movements, as well as their united or parallel action.

This is how we evaluate the international situation and the tasks stemming from it.

II. Comrades, about 50 years ago, Dimitrov, chained by the German fascists, read his famous speech, full of passionate conviction in the invincibility of social progress. "We communists," he said, "can now say no less decisively than old Galileo 'yet it turns!' the wheel of history turns, it turns forwards... it turns and will continue to turn until the final victory of communism!" (Georgi Dimitrov, Collected Works Vol 9, p 286)

This was said when the sinister shadow of Hitlerite fascism was threatening Europe, and when there was only one country in the entire world--the USSR--over which the sun of socialism was shining. Hundreds of millions of people were moved. Their powerful attack destroyed the foundations of imperialist oppression and pushed mankind toward freedom, independence and socialism. Only some one who is not familiar with the elementary laws of social development can interpret this development as "Moscow's machinations" and the "intrigues of the communists."

On the one hand, "word communism" as the bourgeois press puts it, is charged with an almost magical force and accused in all revolutionary processes and changes throughout the world. On the other hand, one hears about the "decline" of the International Communist Movement. Who now is not developing variations on this theme--the bourgeoisie press, the so-called various Western political scientists, and unfortunately, also some social democrats and individual figures of the communist parties.

Such statements have also been made in the past. However, they always failed, while the communist movement continued to march forward. The problem is, you see, that communism is the real and not the adopted child of history. It was born by the inherent process of the development of communist society. It was and remains the legal heir and successor to the entire revolutionary-liberating struggle of the previous centuries, of everything positive created in the process of developing social thought and the moral search of mankind. [applause]

There is no doubt that the road traveled by the communists was not and in fact could not be straight and smooth. However, the communist movement overcame each trial, became stronger and conquered new positions.

However, there are people who try to deny the achievements of the communist movement and stain real socialism. Do they not remind us of the heroes of Gorki's poem "Song of the Falcon"--the one born to crawl and the other born to fly? Yes, the revolutionary work has always required risks and victims. Yes, there may be some difficulties, mistakes and temporary defeats. However, is it possible for the communists, supported by the great revolutionary achievements of our time, to fail to obtain the recognition of the world? The contribution of the communists rises above the petty, Philistine ideas of the "consumer society" searching for stains on the sun and trying to underestimate the sun's vital role--and the vital role of socialism.

The real socialism is a remarkable achievement of the entire international workers' and liberation movement. Whatever those say who have given in to the pressure of the imperialist propaganda, who hesitate in front of the very great size of the new tasks, and who prefer to avoid the difficulties or smooth them over while solving the problems of our time, and thus cheat history, it is a fact that the real existence of socialism is now the main positive factor of mankind's developing.

The vital interests of the workers' class and all working people in the world's nonsocialist area are closely and directly connected to the existence of real socialism. Therefore, the working people of the nonsocialist part of the world are vitally interested in strengthening and developing real socialism. This means that real socialism is to be really defended by decisively opposing the machinations of imperialism against the socialist world. The entire historic experience confirms that cooperation among the revolutionary forces of the nonsocialist party of the world and the socialist countries is equally necessary for both sides.

Comrades, at the present stage of their development, and despite the very difficult international problems, the socialist community's countries are solving unprecedentedly complex and big tasks. Among them, first of all, is accelerating scientific-technological progress and the organic connection of the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution with the advantages of socialism. What we mean is to better utilize the possibilities of the socialist society for increasing the effectiveness of production, fundamentally improving the entire economic mechanism and directing the economy to the road of intensive development, and thus increase the people's standard of living. In the USSR, these tasks received a concrete and powerful expression in the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee plenum and the report of Leonid Brezhnev "On the USSR Supply Program."

The bigger and more complex the tasks, the greater the responsibility of the ruling Marxist-Leninist parties, which are responsible not only for the successful development of their countries, but also for maximally utilizing the great advantage of the fraternal unity of the majority of socialist countries. This unity serves as a support and basis in all trials, and allows us to establish the most perfect and flexible international production sharing and labor division among the countries, and thus to create objective possibilities of overcoming the difficulties.

Socialist internationalism is implemented through mutual assistance and support, by utilizing mutual experience, and by correctly and affectively utilizing all the advantages of the socialist community, and not by borrowing some imaginary Soviet "model." Our party has never seen its own experience as some "model" which is to be obligatorily followed by others. The live and multisided process of constructing the new society cannot develop according to a monotonic scheme or pattern. Vladimir Ilich Lenin, the great organizer of our party and socialist state, used to speak about the inevitable variety of forms of transition toward socialism, but warned, however, that this must not become "an attempt at eccentricity." (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol 27, p 197)

Comrades, we cannot march toward socialism and communism without constantly relying on the Marxist-Leninist science of social development, and without constantly perfecting and renewing this science on the basis of the new phenomena and tendencies which emerge in practice. This theory cannot be charged by anything--neither by utopian schemes nor pragmatic designs.

Today, the CPSU is implementing a complex program of economic, social, political and spiritual development of Soviet society on its very own socialist basis. The working out and implementing of this program is impossible without the constant development of our theory. The written text of this speech, which all participants in this conference can obtain in their own languages, presents in detail the basic aspects of the theoretic-political developments made by the CPSU in the last 10-15 years on developing and perfecting the socialist society.

The road toward socialism, Lenin used to stress, "will never be straight, it will be incredibly complex..."

The search for the necessary solutions and their practical implementation is a multistage, strenuous and creative process which combines the political and scientific activity of our party's staff, its Central Committee, the Politburo, and Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev personally; the party's guiding, organizing and educating role; the daily work of the Soviet and economic organs, and the working efforts of the tens of millions of Soviet people.

In the activity of the fraternal parties of the nonsocialist part of the world, we also see many new aspects. The conditions of their work have drastically changed in comparison with the conditions before the war and during the first decades after the war. Our evaluation of imperialism at the beginning of the eighties and the social-political transformations in the conditions of the class, liberation struggle are included in the written text of this speech.

What is the conclusion? The conclusion is that the capitalist countries have not only reached a very high degree of ripeness in the material and social--in other words--the objective preconditions of the transition to socialism. Subjective possibilities are being constantly created. The basic and predominant mass of the population there is composed of hired hands. The workers' class is growing as a result of the development of some new professions created by contemporary production. By reaching a new stage of production-technological maturity, the workers' class is also obtaining new means of increasing the effectiveness of its actions. The moods of dissatisfaction and protest are penetrating ever deeper among the various social strata. The activity of the trade unions, the youth and women's organizations, the intelligentsia and religious people is constantly growing. New socio-political movements are developing with those already in existence.

One cannot ignore the fact that if today there exists a workers' and communist movement, and that if this movement exists today on front positions and disposes of greater opportunities, this is a result of the great achievements of all revolutionary forces and all forces of progress during the more than 60 years since Great October.

This matter, however, has another side. The bourgeoisie drew conclusions from its defeats and learned many things. It acts today more flexibly and utilizes various manners of preserving and strengthening its domination. Georgi Dimitrov said repeatedly that what the bourgeoisie cannot reach by a frontal attack against the communist movement, it will try to achieve by disintegration from within. Today the class enemy is using this tactic especially broadly and in significantly perfected ways, something which requires exceptional vigilance and the ability to guess, in a timely manner, the sinister anticommunist moves and designs, and foil them.

The communist and other vanguard parties in the three great continents--Asia, Africa and Latin America--are solving complex and varied problems. One witnesses here the struggle for consolidating national independence and against the acts of imperialism and neocolonialism, the struggle against hunger, poverty and regress, the struggle for civil rights and freedoms.

The movement of a great group of newly liberated countries along the road to social transformations has great historic significance. This is a new and powerful factor for mankind's progress. The striving of the vanguard parties of the young countries to rationally utilize the experience of socialism that has already been constructed, and their striving to master Marxist-Leninist science and develop active relations with the communist parties testifies to the dynamics and vitality of the international communist movement, which attracts everything good created by the world revolutionary process.

While evaluating the ideological heritage of Georgi Dimitrov, it is also appropriate to touch upon the subject of the relations between communists and social democrats.

Despite the fundamental ideological-political differences of opinion dividing these two currents of the international workers' movement, the CPSU considers it important and necessary to cooperate with the social democrats, above all in the struggle against the military threat. We do not tend to underestimate the significance of the participation of the socialists, social democrats, and laborites in the struggle against contemporary reaction, racism and apartheid and for democratic and social rights for the working people. However, without the communists it is impossible to achieve fundamental, or even big, social changes. In this context I shall remind you that the documents of the International Communist Movement state that communists are ready to develop cooperation with socialists, social democrats and laborites in the struggle for peace and democracy, and also in the struggle for socialism.

Today the communist movement again has to overcome a difficult road. The social and political conditions in which it acts are changing significantly. However, they include new opportunities for moving forward. Lenin stressed that the party "must take the changes into consideration, to 'use' them, to exploit them if I may say so, and simultaneously, to remain firm, to preserve the old experiences and to preserve the basic things not only in theory, but also in the forms of activity, in the program and in policy principles."

In this light, a correct and serious attitude toward theory and Marxism-Leninism are vitally important for the communist. Then the question arises why have separate opinions and official views appeared in some fraternal parties. And why, despite the fact that they recognize Lenin as a theorist, revolutionary and statesman, do they deny Leninism as an international teaching. The organic essence of Marxism and Leninism is placed under question mark.

It is not necessary here to prove point by point the topicality and vitality of Leninism. I shall only say the following:

Vladimir Ilich Lenin not only applied Marxism to the conditions of his country, but also developed theoretically and solved in practice the cardinal question of worldwide development in the contemporary epoch. Lenin developed the

science of building socialism, and led the Soviet republic for 6 years while implementing this science. Thus, because of Lenin's direct international theoretical and political activity, Marxism obtained a powerful impetus in its development and practical influence on world events during the worldwide transition from capitalism to socialism.

Marxism-Leninism arms the revolutionary movement with the science of revolution and socialism. There is no other such science.

There is an important lesson in the entire experience of our movement and in the experience of the revolutionary transformation of the world in our epoch. The victories of the communists are inseparably linked with the principled and creative application of Marxism-Leninism in practice. Furthermore, the defeats, mistakes, weaknesses, failures, delays and lagging behind in development, and even the crises in some communist parties and socialist countries, of course taking into consideration subjective factors, are a result of weak knowledge of Leninism or a retreat from it under the pressure of opportunist advantages, nationalistic passion, lagging behind in the development of theory or changing it by dogmatic interpretation of Lenin's teachings or finally, a result of incorrect or indecisive application of the fundamental ideas and principles of Leninism.

Only Marxist-Leninist science allows one to see in prospective every topical development, opportunistic political design and tactical consideration. Only Marxism-Leninism allows one to see the general, international, significant and basic aspects behind the apparent chaos of events and limitless variety of developments. This is so because Marxist-Leninist theory represents a summary of the international experience. Therefore, comrades, the task of uniting the efforts of the fraternal parties in summarizing the revolutionary experience and developing the theory of scientific communism will never lose its topicality.

Marxism-Leninism has not and cannot grow older. As Georgi Dimitrov used to say, it is needed by communists like bread, air and water.

Precisely thus, the idea of proletarian internationalism has not and will never grow older. "Now there can be no question about the leadership of the communist movement from some common center," declared Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev already at the end of the sixties. "Every party is independently determining its political course. This, however, not only does not exclude, but on the contrary makes it imperative to coordinate their actions in the struggle against the common enemy." If a certain party stresses, as the criterion of its independence, its isolation from the communist movement, and opposes with its course the positions of the other fraternal parties, this means that especially under the present conditions, it is condemning itself to international isolation, and willingly or unwillingly it is joining another international power which opposes socialism and is even hostile to it.

The communists' internationalism organically includes solidarity with all revolutionary, progressive and democratic forces, and with all fighters against imperialism and for national independence and social progress. The CPSU, for instance, as well as the other fraternal parties, is developing the broadest relations with other political forces. These are friendly, allied relations with tens of revolutionary-democratic and national-democratic parties, contacts with socialist and social-democratic parties, and relations with representatives of various social organizations and movements of a general-democratic character. We know from experience that joint activity and solidarity do not impose a denial of principles.

It is necessary and possible to strive toward mutual actions with other leftist, democratic, revolutionary and peace-loving forces, but not along the way of self-liquidation of the international communist movement, or self-proclaimed restriction of the prerogatives of that movement in the developed capitalist countries and even in West Europe only.

Comrades! In conclusion I would like to say that the following are the decisive preconditions of increasing the great and irreplaceable role of the communist movement:

--To do everything possible under the concrete conditions in which a party acts, in order to tame the aggressiveness of imperialism and prevent a nuclear war;

--To skillfully construct and perfect the socialist society, decisively defend it and render it international assistance;

--While solving the current tasks, to further conduct a struggle for implementing the urgent requirements of the people, and never to forget the final goal of the communists-revolutionaries;

--While marking the new goals, to conduct a struggle for expanding influence among the masses, to defend and expand everything which has been achieved by socialism, the workers' class and the working people;

--To preserve, develop and enrich with new content fraternal relations among the communist parties, while strengthening the solidarity and mutual activity of all peace-loving, progressive and revolutionary forces of our time;

--To never relinquish the principled and class attitude in the political and ideological struggle under any circumstances;

--Finally, by creatively developing the revolutionary theory, to carefully protect and take into consideration the principles and conclusions of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, which have been tested by life, and to seriously study and objectively enrich the experience of the fraternal parties and other revolutionary forces.

The BCP and the Bulgarian people, under the glorious leadership of secretary general Comrade Todor Zhivkov, following the behest of Georgi Dimitrov, is confidently marching along the road of strengthening and developing socialism and friendship with the USSR, and is making a great contribution to the struggle for strengthening peace. We greet this from the bottom of our hearts.

The communists and their friends and allies are facing complex and difficult tasks. They face a strenuous and tense struggle in the name of peace, stopping the arms race and removing the danger of a nuclear war, in the name of independence and freedom of the peoples, and in the name of democracy and socialism. This struggle requires our total selflessness, mobilization of all forces, mutual understanding and mutual support.

The Soviet communists, closely rallied around the Leninist Central Committee and its Politburo, led by Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, will further make all efforts in order to march toward the lofty goals, in the ranks of the communist movement, together and in close unity with the fraternal parties.

Finally, allow me to express our sincere gratitude to the BCP Central Committee and the secretary general of its Central Committee, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, for the invitation to take part in this representative and important conference and for the excellent conditions for our work.

In conclusion, we can say the following: The cause and thought of Georgi Dimitrov are living in the hearts of the new generations of communists, and are inspiring them to a selfless struggle which doubtlessly will be crowned by new victories.

Thank you for your attention! (prolonged and stormy applause)

Axen Speech

AU180917. East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jun 82 p 6

[Report on address of Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the International Scientific Conference on the 100th birthday of Georgi Dimitrov in Sofia on 14 June]

[Text] In the 1,300 years of their history the Bulgarian people have made great achievements for world civilization. With the victorious establishment of the socialist society it is making the most important contribution for the progress of mankind. And this decisive turn in history is forever linked with the revolutionary heroism and the genius of Georgi Dimitrov, Hermann Axen stressed in his address at the International Scientific Conference in Sofia.

Filled with deep gratitude for this great leader of the Bulgarian and the International Workers Movement, our delegation conveys the fraternal greetings of the SED Central Committee and its secretary General Comrade Erich Honecker

to the party and people of Dimitrov. We greet the delegations of fraternal parties from all countries whose participation demonstrates anew that the international communist movement is the most influential political force today.

Experiences Are of Great Topicality

Threatened with death by the fascist barbarians in the Reichstag fire trial, Georgi Dimitrov was not only the shining example of an undaunted fighter of the workers class but he also kindled there the signal for worldwide antifascist resistance. His final address before the Supreme Court of the German Reich in Leipzig developed into an inspiring plea for communism, an enthusiastic accusation against the brownshirt arsonists, above all into an enormous appeal which caused the great movement of the struggle against war and fascism in the entirety of peace-loving, progressive mankind.

We are acting entirely in the spirit of Dimitrov, the speaker declared, when we use his great experiences as instruction in the struggle to solve the urgent tasks of our time, above all the most important one--the securing of peace.

The ruling U.S. circles want, he stressed, to stop the further shrinking of their spheres of domination and influence at all cost. Since President Reagan took office they have striven adventurously not only to allow no further losses but also to recover lost ground.

In the present struggle against the confrontation and intensified armament policy of U.S. imperialism, the experiences of the communist world movement and Georgi Dimitrov are particularly topical. Georgi Dimitrov let himself be guided by the principles that it is not enough to only want peace: "For peace one must fight," he wrote. "It is absolutely insufficient to make general propaganda against war."

He tried to unite all democratic and anti-imperialist forces in a broad peace front. In the nuclear age Dimitrov's ideas of broad alliances, of avoiding any narrowness in the peace struggle, of the most comprehensive cooperation of all peace-loving forces against the main enemy of the peoples, against the aggressive and adventurous policy of imperialism is more topical than ever before.

In his address Hermann Axen referred to the fact that the growing breadth of the peace movement as well as the manifoldness of the national and social liberation struggle bring up new questions which must be answered creatively. The number of the problems of worldwide importance which can only be solved by the joint action of the revolutionary main streams of our time is steadily increasing. Never before has the responsibility of the communist and workers parties been greater than today--to serve the peace interests of the peoples by their joint action unselfishly and efficiently and to bridle in time the arsonists of a new war.

As the speaker stressed, Georgi Dimitrov proceeded in his entire work from the inseparable relationship between socialism and peace. He was most deeply convinced that for the workers class throughout the world the connection of peace and socialism with the October Revolution and the existence of the socialist Soviet Union presented itself in a qualitatively new way.

In accordance with this basic principle of proletarian internationalism we German Communists are waging an unswerving struggle at the side of the first socialist state of the world, the head of the SED delegation declared.

We most resolutely oppose views which say that this attitude was right during the time when the Soviet Union had to resist the capitalist embrace alone, but that since world socialism exists today, such an attitude is no longer necessary. We do not believe that such a fundamental question can be approached with the yardsticks of a bookkeeper--is there one or are there several socialist countries which one should be committed to. As Hermann Axen said, it is much more the quality which matters in all cases. This means the class content of the policy which is being pursued by the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries in building the new society and in securing world peace.

The increased political, military and economic strength of the Soviet Union, of the entire socialist community is proving a decisive factor in world politics, especially today.

Full Support for the USSR Initiatives

The SED and our socialist GDR fully support the peace program of the 26th CPSU Congress and the recent peace initiatives of Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev. They offer a constructive basis for concrete disarmament measures and for improving the global situation. They provide peace-loving mankind with the certainty of not being helplessly at the mercy of the imperialist danger of war.

Now in the 1980's all countries of our community are--of course with differences in the concrete development stage of the society--facing principally the same task in further shaping the developed socialist society, which is: to more strongly emphasize the superiority of socialism in all decisive fields in all our countries. To meet these tasks, Hermann Axen stressed, it is necessary to take decisive steps toward achieving a leading position in the field of labor productivity in the next period.

As the party congresses of the fraternal parties of the socialist countries have demonstrated, real socialism--despite all growth problems and burdens--has in general now achieved such starting positions that this fundamental task can be brought step by step to the historic solution foreseen by Lenin. The path of the GDR to these aims has been marked by the 10th SED Congress

With the economic strategy of the 1980's. At the same time the SED supports the proposal of Comrade Brezhnev to achieve a higher level of socialist economic integration by collectively working out and constantly consulting on the economic policy of the CEMA countries.

Closely Allied With the Bulgarian People

Georgi Dimitrov, the head of the SED delegation stressed, contributed toward shaping a great part of the history of the close relations between German and Bulgarian communists. As early as the beginning of the 1920's he was linked with the revolutionary German workers movement. Georgi Dimitrov attentively followed the "antifascist action" led by the KPD and Ernst Thaelmann which was to unite all antifascist forces in Germany in order to oppose the threatening fascist danger.

For many years Georgi Dimitrov closely cooperated with comrades Wilhelm Pieck and Wilhelm Florin not only in the presidium of the executive committee of the Communist International. He always paid the utmost attention to the struggle of the KPD against fascism and war and actively supported this struggle. After the liberation of the peoples from fascism by the Soviet Union and with the beginning of the people's revolution in Bulgaria and on the territory of today's GDR, the militant partnership between Georgi Dimitrov and the leaders of the SED, which had been tested for many decades, took a new form.

Today the fraternal cooperation between the SED and the BCP has become daily practice in all fields, and inseparable ties of friendship have developed between the Bulgarian and GDR people.

As Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, declared on his visit to Dimitrov's home country, "The close friendship and unity of action of our parties form the basis of our successes which have been achieved so far and guarantee future successes. Thus...we have fulfilled and will fulfill the firm legacy of the great leaders of the German and Bulgarian workers movement, the unforgettable internationalists Ernst Thaelmann and Georgi Dimitrov."

PCF's Lazard Addresses Conference

AU171425 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Jun 82 pp 4, 5

[Statement by Francette Lazard, member of the French Communist Party Politburo, at conference devoted to Dimitrov's birth centenary in Sofia on 15 June]

[Excerpts] Georgi Dimitrov's report at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935, which was based on a detailed and comprehensive analysis, was an essential and concrete step forward for the revolutionaries.

Following the victory over Nazism, the communists immediately faced a historic turning point: the ratio of the forces in favor of reforms had increased. How could one regard the basic political prospects of socialism under these changed

conditions? In 1945-1946 the theoretical analysis and political initiatives which were original attempts to give a meaning to the revolutionary activity multiplied everywhere. Georgi Dimitrov succeeded in showing courage when it was necessary and rejecting everything obsolete that could hinder the movement's progress and he found a way for understanding the new problems and a path toward their solution.

In the existing conditions, the building of socialism in our country and the widespread development of international solidarity go hand in hand. This is because the variety of the paths in this respect is an expression of the entirety, the complex nature and the contradictions of this process of reform that is having such an impact on our era.

This is also because the revolution is at the same time developing as the totality of the most varied national phenomena and as a factor for reforming the world, and this requires a new internationalism that is in keeping with our times. Socialism can only be a result of the actual development of society and of the perception of its contradictions and this presupposes the presence of one essential factor--the participation of the creative initiative of the masses.

In our opinion, it is not enough to adapt or update the existing models of revolutionary activity. The discussion and experiment on the paths toward socialist construction and development could be enriched just because of the variety of its nature. Regardless of the fierce counteroffensive of imperialism, this world movement is evidence of the multilateral and growing striving of the people to search for an original way of their own to build a better society.

That is why we are in solidarity with all forces in the world struggling for peace, progress, justice, freedom, independence and socialism--based on our common goals and on a respect for the existing differences and varieties.

Cuban Delegate's Speech

AU221635 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Jun 82 p 6

[Speech by Antonio Perez Herrero, Cuban Communist Party Secretariat member and candidate member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, at International Ideological Conference in Sofia marking the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth, on 16 June 1982]

[Text] On behalf of the Cuban Communist Party we express our gratitude to the BCP for the invitation to participate in this event held on the occasion of Georgi Dimitrov's centennial. This conference is being convened in a prosperous country, in a world characterized by the decisive presence of socialism, and at the time when the most cherished aspirations for the unity of actions of the working people, of the peoples, and of their leading forces are being implemented.

Dimitrov's greatness, which goes beyond the boundaries of his native land and of the era in which he lived, consists of the fact that he understood with exceptional thoroughness the essence and demands of one of the most important and stormy periods of history. This was a time when the peoples saved themselves from the greatest threat to them and resisted fascism. Fascism was the political offspring of the most reactionary circles of imperialism, which, in turn, regarded fascism as an alternative to the expansion of the international communist and revolutionary movement, as a force to be launched against the first workers and peasants state in the world.

In our time, when reaction regards racism and apartheid--whose monstrous nature reminds us of the ideas implemented in concentration camps--as legal forms of administration; at a time when Zionism--which holds in contempt the Arab peoples and attempts to destroy the Palestinian people--reminds us of the Hitlerites who killed millions of Jews; when the oppression institutionalized in Latin America covered Chile with blood and caused the death of Salvador Allende; when thousands of patriots are in prison, causing pain and insecurity; we demand that those who have disappeared should be returned to their families, and the families are calling for this.

The Bulgarian people deeply understood Dimitrov's teaching, and on 9 September 1944 the victory of socialist revolution put a glorious end to the centuries-old struggle for preserving the state, the territorial integrity and culture, for achieving national independence and the victory of democracy, of social progress and socialism under the confident leadership of the communist party and of Georgi Dimitrov.

Recalling today, on the occasion of his centennial, the most important events in Georgi Dimitrov's life and work, his contribution to revolutionary theory and practice and evaluating the thoroughness of his political thought, we are seeing first of all his unshakable approach to the first state of workers and peasants. For Dimitrov yesterday, as it is today for our party and for communists all over the world, internationalism is, above all, determined by our approach to the Soviet Union, and the defense of the Soviet Union is a criterion of true internationalism.

The peoples of Latin America, who have waged a merciless struggle, are now striving with new strength to protect their independence, to eliminate the remnants of colonialism and to liberate the peoples who are still oppressed by oligarchies and by proimperialist regimes. The peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala, with unprecedented heroism are waging that same struggle which yesterday was waged by Nicaragua, Grenada and Cuba and which was victorious. These peoples are making efforts to overcome imperialist aggression, to overcome the epoch of centuries-old, merciless exploitation and, with the help of their true friends, to build a new society.

In recent weeks the attention of the international public was focused on a small archipelago, situated in the South Atlantic, toward which the British fleet had sailed, with unprecedented propaganda haughtiness and anachronistic

arrogance, in order to restore British domination over the Malvinas. The British-Argentinian conflict is not, as the imperialists like to describe it, a purely territorial conflict, but the struggle of the Argentinian people against colonial domination which has been going on for almost 200 years.

Today more than ever, Georgi Dimitrov's lessons and his call for unity are becoming a weapon in the hands of worldwide proletariat and in the hands of the people, an ideological weapon in their struggle to preserve peace and for liberation, despite the insane attempts of those who are trying to turn back history and are dreaming of reviving the nightmare of war and fascism.

The complicated political and military atmosphere today is further affected by the deep economic crisis of capitalism. The consequences of this crisis are felt throughout the world economy, but the most dramatic effects are on the so-called Third World, where millions of people are living under inhuman conditions. Under these difficult circumstances, we communists and revolutionaries are called upon to fulfill our duty and struggle unrelentingly against the common enemy. Under these circumstances the struggle for peace is intertwined with the struggle against backwardness, injustice and starvation, to which the developing countries are subjected.

In the critical and difficult moments through which mankind is living, the unity of action of progressive people throughout the world, of all revolutionary forces and of the glorious international communist movement is more necessary than ever before.

The Cuban Communist Party and all our people will not spare any efforts in the struggle to preserve peace and to build a united front, as large as possible, with all those who are trying to escape nuclear disaster. This indefatigable struggle for the preservation of thousands of years of human civilization will take a worthy place in the vanguard of the heroic Bulgarian people under the leadership of their communist party and their beloved leader, Comrade Todor Zhivkov.

Cuban Radio Reports Delegate's Speech

PA182209 Havana International Service in Spanish 1800 GMT 16 Jun 82

[Text] Antonio Perez Herrero, Cuban Communist Party Secretariat member, stressed the efficacy of the united front's strategy in preventing a new world catastrophe, while speaking at the international conference entitled Georgi Dimitrov and the contemporary world, which opened in Sofia yesterday on the occasion of the centennial of that Bulgarian patriot's birth. The conference is being attended by delegations from over 130 countries.

After pointing out that the struggle for peace is linked to the struggle against underdevelopment, Perez Herrero reiterated the decision of the Cuban Communist Party and the Cuban people to exert every possible effort to achieve the creation of the broadest possible front among all forces that wish to prevent a new world conflagration.

He also noted that the constant attacks on the Arab nations, Angola, Vietnam, Nicaragua and recently on the Malvinas Islands amount to irrefutable proof of the aggressiveness of the world's reactionary forces.

KWP Delegate's Speech

AU221505 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Jun 82 p 3

[Speech by Kim Yong-nam, Politburo member and secretary of the Korean Workers Party (KWP) Central Committee, at the International Theoretical Conference devoted to Georgi Dimitrov's centennial, held 15-17 June 1982 at the Sofia Palace of Culture]

[Excerpt] Imperialism and fascism still remain dangerous aggressive forces which persist in their insolent provocations against the peoples' cause devoted to international peace and security.

After having established themselves in Asia and particularly in Korea, deploying numerous aggressive armed forces, nuclear weapons and other types of means of mass destruction, the U.S. imperialists transformed these countries into absolute colonies, into a springboard of aggression directed against the Korean and Asian peoples. And they are madly preparing themselves to unleash a new war against our country.

The puppet clique of Chon Tu-hwan, under U.S. auspices, established an extreme military-fascist dictatorship in South Korea and is subjecting the South Korean people to barbaric repressive measures.

Because of the U.S. criminal machinations, because of the manipulations of the South Korean puppet clique in connection with establishing "two Koreas," and because of provocative military actions, the danger of an eternal division of the nation and of a new war is increasingly being intensified in our country.

In Europe, too, American imperialism is intending to deploy new medium-range missiles and even produce neutron bombs which are endangering peace and security in Europe.

In his report to the Fourth KWP Congress, reflecting the demands of the epoch and of revolutionary development, Comrade Kim Il-song, our people's great leader, mapped out a strategic plan for the implementation of a broad united front under the banner of anti-imperialism and independence, and for the coordination of actions by the peace-loving peoples of our planet.

Cohesion is the most powerful weapon in the hands of the workers class and of all oppressed peoples. This cohesion is the source of their invincible strength.

Aggression and robbery are the main character traits of imperialism. Its nature cannot change and weaken, so long as the capitalist system itself in

which monopoly capitalism is prevailing, has not been destroyed. If anything changes about imperialists it will not be their aggressive nature, but the methods of their aggression.

In the past the U.S. ruling circles "publicly promised" to withdraw their aggressive troops and their nuclear arms from South Korea, but one day they changed these "commitments" and actively supported the militarist-fascist dictatorial regime of Chon Tu-hwan--this most inveterate oppressor of democracy and of human rights. Judging from this fact, it is quite obvious that their tales about "peace" and the "defense of human rights" are nothing but a perfidious maneuver as regards the people.

All revolutionary peoples in the world must firmly stand on anti-imperialist positions of principle.

Along with this, we must render active support to and solidarity with the peoples struggling against imperialist aggression and interference in defending national independence and sovereignty, while at the same time striving for coordinated actions.

Our party highly appreciates the just activities and efforts of the BCP, headed by the esteemed Comrade Todor Zhivkov, and of the government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to guarantee peace and security in Europe and to transform the Balkan Peninsula into a nuclear-free zone, into a zone of peace. Our party expresses its support and solidarity to this policy, Kim Yong-nam stated in conclusion.

Under the banner of anti-imperialism, independence and unity, our party will also in the future, as in the past, struggle for a militant cohesion of the socialist states' countries, and for alliance with the nonaligned countries, as well as with the peace-loving forces on the globe, against the policy of imperialist aggression and war, to guarantee peace and security on our planet.

Zimyanin Speech

AU221608 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Jun 82 p 3

[Speech by Mikhayl Zimyanin, CPSU Central Committee secretary, at the International Theoretical Conference on "Georgi Dimitrov's Cause and Our Time" on 17 June 1982 in Sofia]

[Text] Georgi Dimitrov, the Bulgarian people's great son, entered the history of the worldwide revolutionary movement as a remarkable proletarian revolutionary-Leninist and as an ardent patriot, as well as internationalist and a loyal friend of the Soviet Union. All his life was devoted to the struggle for the people's freedom and happiness, to the victory of socialism.

His infinite devotion to the workers class, his bright, thoughtful mind and his inexhaustible revolutionary energy and manly courage, his talent as a politician, organizer and educator of the communists and of the broad working

masses elevated him to a tremendous historical level. As leader of the BCP, and of the Bulgarian workers class, as ardent antifascist and revolutionary herald, as a fearless fighter who transformed the Leipzig trial into a trial against fascism, Georgi Dimitrov was worthily elected to the post of secretary general of the Comintern Executive Committee. His remarkable qualities as one of the outstanding leaders of the International Communist Movement--who devoted his tremendous energies and his wonderful talent as a theoretician, politician and organizer in creating a united antifascist front of the workers class and all working people in the struggle against fascism and war--were manifested in this post. Georgi Dimitrov's report to the Seventh Comintern Congress in 1935 contained a comprehensive analysis and synthesis of the program on the unity of the antifascist front which was embodied in the strategy of the proletariat and of its allies in the antifascist, anti-imperialist struggle.

As secretary general of the Comintern, Georgi Dimitrov did not separate himself even for one moment from the heroic struggle of the BCP for the Bulgarian people's freedom and independence. In the years of hard historical trials for the communists and the workers class in his motherland, Georgi Dimitrov tempered a proletarian party of a new, Leninist type and conducted it along the path of a tense, illegal and armed struggle against the monarcho-fascist dictatorship and against German fascism. This path was crowned by a nationwide uprising on 9 September 1944 in which the working people in Bulgaria, with the support of the Soviet army, overthrew the regime which was already in decay.

The BCP, headed by Georgi Dimitrov, worked out a plan on the development of socialism in Bulgaria and widely introduced its practical implementation. Bulgaria is a socialist state today with developed industry, collective agriculture and a high level of education, science and culture. The fact that within the last 10 years a second Bulgaria was built, as Comrade Tudor Zhivkov eloquently declared, confirms the stormy upsurge of material and intellectual forces in that country.

The BCP which is headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, outstanding leader of the international communist and workers movement and loyal continuer of Georgi Dimitrov's cause, is following a consistent trend toward further developing the socialist production forces of the country, intensifying the national economy and perfecting the political system of society, as well as a trend toward improving the people's material and cultural standards.

The Soviet and Bulgarian communists not only preserved but also multiplied the deep historical traditions of friendship between our two countries. This friendship is developing with dynamic strength and is assuming new qualitative features from year to year.

At the August 1981 meeting in the Crimea held between Comrades L. I. Brezhnev and Todor Zhivkov, new measures were outlined for intensifying comprehensive cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the USSR, particularly in the economic sector, which are intensifying the socialist economic integration existing between the two countries on the basis of long-term purpose-oriented programs.

We, the communists and all working people in the Soviet Union, are ardently rejoicing at the historical successes of the Bulgarian people, at the fact that Bulgaria is consistently acting as an inseparable part of the worldwide socialist community, which is advancing in the vanguard of mankind's progress, and represents an unshakable support in the peoples' struggle for democracy, national independence and socialism.

The Soviet society's joyful and busy life is proceeding today under the influence of the historical decisions adopted at the 26th CPSU Congress. The Soviet people are implementing the program of building communism worked out by the congress.

At the same time, a beneficial process of further consolidating the fraternal unity of all nations and nationalities in our country is being accomplished, a process of comprehensively drawing closer together on the basis of the principles of Leninist national policy, and consistent implementation of these principles by the CPSU and the Soviet state.

In the Soviet Union, we have achieved the unshakable sociopolitical, ideological and international unity of our society; under the circumstances of this unshakable unity the Soviet people are preparing to welcome the 65th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the USSR.

We are proud of the fact that, together with us, the other peoples in the fraternal socialist countries have achieved tremendous successes in building a new life.

This is precisely why the forces of imperialism and reaction exhibit bitter hatred against worldwide socialism, and against the Soviet Union in particular. With their malicious anticommunist and anti-Soviet propaganda war, with their ideological diversions, the aggressive U.S. circles and their lackeys are trying to mask their own hegemonist and militarist attempts, which are aimed at achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union and its allies and tying the European peoples to the nuclear policy of the United States, as well as at transforming these countries into nuclear hostages of the United States and imposing U.S. diktat and the imperialist hegemony over the world.

Recently, the imperialist circles and the Beijing leaders who are echoing them, greatly propagate the thesis about some kind of alleged "crisis" of the social system in the socialist countries. However, it is sufficient to compare the most important indexes on the state and development of economic, social and cultural life in the countries of both global systems to clearly see the inconsistency, the false character of the lies invented by our enemies and by their Beijing helpers.

The wise Leninist policy of peace finds its consistent pursuit and continuation in the creative peace program for the eighties submitted by Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, and complemented by him with new important and peace-loving initiatives.

L. I. Brezhnev's message to the participants in the second special U.N. General Assembly session on disarmament is a brilliant, new confirmation of the Soviet Union's concern with the preservation and consolidation of peace, with the prevention of a nuclear disaster. In this message Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev declared that the USSR is assuming the commitment not to be the first to use nuclear weapons.

This historical decision is complemented by a number of proposals about freezing and stopping the arms race as a first step along the path of their essential limitation and of facilitating universal disarmament.

We look into the future with optimism. The anniversary of Georgi Dimitrov, Bulgaria's great son, gives us the splendid opportunity to confirm to the whole world the readiness of the communists and of all fighters for the cause of peace and freedom to wage a tireless and selfless as well as joint struggle for the noble and humanitarian goals of working mankind--for the ideals of peace and socialism.

Czyrek Addresses Meeting

AU211827 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Jun 82 p 7

[PAP Report: "Poland's Experiences Confirm the Present Interest of G. Dimitrov's Ideas--Jozef Czyrek's Speech at the International Theoretical Conference in Sofia"--passaged between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /Sofia (PAP)--Below we publish the text of the speech delivered at the 17 June session of the International Theoretical Conference in Sofia, "Georgi Dimitrov's Work and Our Times," by Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, and Polish foreign affairs minister./

The birth centenary of Georgi Dimitrov coincides with the centenary of founding the first socialist party of the Polish workers--the "Great Proletariat." This fact is symbolic. It induces us to give thought to the sources of Marxism in Bulgaria and in Poland, and to its influence on the destinies of our peoples and states.

The Communist Party's Leading Role

/In Georgi Dimitrov's theoretical works and practical activity, a key position belongs to the problem of the Communist Party's role in creating socialism./

The topicality of Dimitrov's ideas has been confirmed against the background of the deep sociopolitical and economic crisis building up in our country for years. Dimitrov's fundamental thesis was the idea that, in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, it was necessary to preserve and consolidate the leading role of the communist party.

Following Lenin, Dimitrov regarded the communist party as a political, ideological and organizational force capable of controlling the difficult processes of socialist construction.

/At the same time Dimitrov strongly emphasized that the leading role had not been granted to the party once and for all. The party must constantly fight for its position, must win and justify the confidence of the workers class and the working people by its correct policy and by uncompromising defense of their interests./

Historical practice has confirmed Dimitrov's idea that a deviation from the universal patterns of building socialism, disregard for the vanguard role of the workers class, and incorrect relations between the state and party leadership--between the party apparatus, on the one hand, and the class and society on the other--result in serious errors and cause enormous harm to the communist movement.

/It was precisely the violation of the PZPR's links with the working people in the seventies that helped the adversaries of socialism take up counter-revolutionary activity./ Launching in theory and practice the so-called all-national policy and the thesis of the nation's moral and political unity signified underestimating class principles, ideological electism and the infiltration of the non-Marxist--social democratic and anarchosyndicalist--concepts of socialism in the workers class.

/While endeavoring to overthrow socialism in Poland, to wrench our country away from the socialist community, and to unleash another campaign against the USSR and the cause of communism, the internal and external enemies took advantage of those weaknesses./ Poland was confronted with the threat of a civil war. The martial law imposed by the constitutional authorities of the Polish People's Republic has impeded the further dismantling of the socialist state and foiled the plans of our adversaries.

/The party bears responsibility for the future, for the destinies of the millions of Poles, for Poland's place in the community of the socialist states and for its security./ Friendship and alliance with the USSR and other fraternal countries are a fundamental condition for the successful development of socialist Poland. Polish patriots are constantly aware of that interdependence. G. Dimitrov's dictum that one's attitude to the Soviet Union and the CPSU is the yardstick of real internationalism has been confirmed.

/How topical for Polish communists is Dimitrov's idea set forth in his speech at the Fifth Bulgarian Communist Party Congress to the effect that the highest wisdom of a communist consists in an honest, sincere and speedy realization of his mistakes, and in finding and eliminating the causes of the mistakes!/ The willingness to remedy the deformations, to accept criticism and to exert self-criticism is evidence of the party's strength, of its uncompromising spirit in the struggle for the interests of the workers class.

The PZPR emerged from the 1980-1981 events with losses, but tempered. However, this does not signify that the opportunist and revisionist trends had been finally overcome. /The Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum found that "opportunism is primarily irresoluteness, the practice of dodging about and adapting submissively to any current situation./ As experience has shown, the opportunist current causes destruction in the ranks of the party, proves to be an objective ally for antisocialist forces, and constitutes a real threat."

The seventh plenum also found that all those who acted outside the party's democratic structures and, while brandishing left-wing phraseology, were trying to change those structures, were also harmful to the party. G. Dimitrov criticized some communists suffering from the "infantile disorders of left-wing communism."

G. Dimitrov, Poland and the Poles

/Each party's tactics should arise from a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the specific reality, from society's willingness to materialize the principles of the socialist system, from concrete conditions for the revolutionary struggle and socialist construction existing in each country./ A discriminating treatment of this problem and voluntarism in activity result in isolation and in alienation between the party and the workers class. Under the influence of various illusions and traditions, G. Dimitrov wrote, the people's masses are apt to hesitate and err and, as a result of these errors, to incur serious dangers. The events in Poland have clearly shown how attractive and dangerous to society some slogans--quite misleading and deviating from the path of building socialism--might be when the party detaches itself from the masses and disregards the universal patterns of building a new system.

The Poles, Poland and the Polish workers movement were within the circle of G. Dimitrov's interests almost as long as the latter was active in the International Workers Movement. He always tried to understand the complex Polish problems and to help settle them.

/The birth centenary of Georgi Dimitrov is a good occasion to bring to mind the life and works, the deeds and ideas of that prominent communist, patriot and internationalist. Many problems taken up by him are as topical today as they were then, are appreciated by our contemporaries for their durability and the boldness of practical settlements, and are to a great extent applicable in analyzing the Polish reality in its present shape./

This applies, for example, to the idea of national accord in our country and to the role and place of trade unions. G. Dimitrov, who during World War II and in the postwar period theoretically documented and verified in political practice the historic necessity of a national front, and specified its tasks, was seriously interested in both those issues.

/Dimitrov emphasized that the workers class in a socialist state was not in opposition to the latter, but on the contrary, through its trade unions, should become a decisive social, economic, cultural and political factor in the country. Dimitrov professed the need for the functions of defending the interests of the workers class to be skillfully combined in trade unions with systematic services and work for the benefit of the entire society. This thesis is as topical today as it was then./

As an antifascist and a champion of peace, Dimitrov is particularly near and dear to our party and people.

The Need for Uniting All Forces of Peace

The threat of a war has now increased alarmingly again. Instead of disarmament talks, the United States and its NATO allies are offering the world a new stage of forceful armament; instead of settling conflicts, they are aggravating and provoking new ones, and instead of a dialogue and cooperation--cold-war rhetorics and ruining the achievements of detente.

/It is the duty of our parties before their own societies, it is the duty of the movement as a whole before mankind to protect the world against the catastrophe of war./ Notwithstanding the difficulties experienced, Poland will continue to actively participate in the struggle for peace in the solidarity front of the states of the socialist community and of the entire communist and workers movement. All the objective conditions exist for our triumph: the peaceful strategy pursued by the Soviet Union and its allies, grounded on a material force; the increasingly active commitment of communist parties in the struggle for peace; the spontaneous integration of the masses in the front common to us, and the national liberation movement that is growing stronger year in and year out.

/The course and atmosphere of the second special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament show distinctly what forces in the world are for peace, detente and disarmament talks, and what forces are provoking tensions in the world and are responsible for forcing the arms race./ We highly value the Soviet Union's constructive position manifested at the session by Comrade A. Gromyko. The message addressed by Leonid Brezhnev to the UN General Assembly is an extremely important and politically interesting document.

/It is highly important to coordinate our activities and to unite all forces of peace and democracy in the struggle against the imperialist war threat./ In our movement, we must give thought to the possible forms of such cooperation, to rallying our ranks on the principles of international solidarity, and we must take concrete steps in this sphere.

Achievements of Universal Importance

G. Dimitrov's theoretical achievements and ideological heritage are enormous. They belong to the Bulgarian people, their workers class and communist party, but at the same time they are shared by the entire international workers and

communist movement. /Dimitrov's life and work go far beyond the national framework and are of universal significance, because he himself was able to develop and apply the science of Marxism-Leninism in a creative manner, and analyzed the processes and phenomena in sociopolitical life and in the class struggle in a new way. He resolutely opposed schemes and routine, and fought dogmatism in thought and action./

Bilak Speech

AU220909 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Jun 82 p 3

["Full text" of speech by Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the 16 June session of the International Theoretical Conference in Sofia marking the centenary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov; passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] The CPCZ welcomes the convening of this conference on the life and work of the great son of the Bulgarian people and ardent internationalist Georgi Dimitrov. Today we jointly commemorate the 100th anniversary of Dimitrov's birth, an outstanding figure of our century who has become a legend and personification of the struggle against fascism and war and for a lasting peace and whose lifelong work rightly belongs to the entire international revolutionary movement.

When we profess allegiance today to the legacy of Georgi Dimitrov, we do so especially to draw on his work and ideas and to develop the values that are of lasting validity.

Georgi Dimitrov's greatness lay in his grasp of the historical significance of the Great October Socialist Revolution and in his ability to project this knowledge into his revolutionary activity. He gave all his powers, talent and skills to the struggle for a revolutionary transformation of the world in the spirit of the ideological legacy of the Great October. He was among the most dedicated friends and most passionate defenders of the Soviet Union. His greatest enemies were the enemies of the first land of socialism. He regarded the attitude to the Soviet Union and its Leninist Communist Party as the touchstone of every genuine revolutionary and internationalist. Even today his words are topical that /"The Soviet Union is not an ordinary state-- it is the work of the Soviet proletariat and the world revolution. Its true borders pass through the whole world and comprise everything that lives for the workers class and its cause."/

Georgi Dimitrov exerted immense efforts to unite the revolutionary workers movement on the principles of scientific socialism, under the banner of Leninism and proletarian internationalism. He was a man of great erudition and culture who had a perfect command of the Leninist strategy and tactics of class struggle. No matter how complex the changes in the political events were, he was always up to the requirements of the times: being dedicated to

the cause of the workers class, loyal to his communist conviction and critical and self-critical, he did not draw conclusions from wishes but solely from a sober analysis of reality. He creatively applied revolutionary theory.

Georgi Dimitrov proved his extraordinary talent for a political leader of the modern, Leninist type who is capable of combining theoretical thought with political and administrative work in the most responsible posts as a front-ranking official of the BCP and the Communist Internationale.

Georgi Dimitrov is being rightly ranked among the figures who made a significant contribution to the creative development of Marxism-Leninism in the thirties and forties. With his work, at the heart of which was struggle against fascism on the national and international scales--a struggle which he knew very well must result in the liberation of nations that had fallen victim to fascist aggression and in the victory of democratic and socialist revolutions--he demonstrated with exemplary persuasiveness that Marxism-Leninism is a living and invincible doctrine; that it is a guideline for effective revolutionary practice; and a teaching that can inspire and rouse the masses of working people to historical deeds.

There was no discrepancy between Georgi Dimitrov's conviction and deeds, between the principles he championed and his life. It was, therefore, quite logical that a person like Georgi Dimitrov could become the legendary hero of the famous Leipzig trial. Dimitrov knew well the dangerous, insidious and experienced character of imperialism; he knew how perfectly it commands and makes use of the "divide and conquer" method; he knew that it does not shy away from any methods--deception, slander, disorientation, bribery and organization of provocations and murders. The Leipzig trial was an example showing what fascists, the most reactionary agency of imperialism, are capable of. Georgi Dimitrov deserves immortal credit for the fact that the scenario, aimed at compromising communists and justifying mass terror, did not come off. /Owing to Georgi Dimitrov's courageous stance, the provocation of setting the Reichstag on fire was not only exposed, but the trial turned into an accusation of fascism./ The world public was thus able to convince itself right after the founding of the so-called Third Reich that fascism is associated with crime and that communists are the most consistent fighters against fascism. Further developments confirmed this fully.

As secretary general of the Communist Internationale, he issued at its seventh congress in August 1935, in the name of the entire communist movement, the historical appeal to all democratic and progressive forces to set up a broad people's front for the struggle against fascism and for preserving world peace. How instructive and in many respects still relevant is the speech delivered then by Georgi Dimitrov! It is a profound analysis of the emergence and character of fascism, which was begotten by the reactionary forces of world imperialism in an attempt to find a way out of the general crisis of the capitalist system and to halt the social progress triggered by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Georgi Dimitrov correctly proceeded from the assumption that the defense of peace, bourgeois democracy and rights and liberties--no matter how limited--against the fascist threat was in the intrinsic interest of the workers class and one of the important prerequisites for a transition to socialism. Unfortunately, many people refused at that time to seize the outstretched hand. They did not understand that the tactics of the "lesser evil"--the sacrifice of Austria and Czechoslovakia--would not stop fascism in its aggressive crusade but, on the contrary, would encourage it. They did so in the concealed hope that the fascist regime would help them liquidate communism and the Soviet Union.

As in the period when Georgi Dimitrov lived, now, too, imperialism is taking its all on military force. It is the main instrument by means of which it wants to stop or at least to slow down the law-governed development of the world revolutionary process. How many similarities with Dimitrov's period there are! The most reactionary imperialist forces representing the interests of the military-industrial complex would be willing to unleash a nuclear war even at the price of the destruction of Europe and their European allies, if they had the certainty that they would succeed in liquidating the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We are once again facing the world reaction's aggressive, anti-peace strategy, in which the tendency toward confrontation with the forces of socialism and progress prevails. The dangerous war plans of imperialism today pose a threat to the very existence of mankind. All the more urgent is the validity of Dimitrov's legacy to concentrate all forces against this threat, to defend and protect peace. Today, when life on our planet is in jeopardy through the fault of imperialism, it is necessary to advance even further--/to establish the broadest possible front of all forces that can contribute to averting war./ A nuclear war would affect everyone; there would not be any difference between atheists and believers, communists and socialists, soldiers and civilians, citizens of Eastern, Central or Western Europe.

The greater and more complex the tasks facing mankind in the endeavor to preserve peace, the greater becomes the international role and responsibility of communists as the most resolute and most consistent fighters against the danger of a war catastrophe, as the most important political force of our epoch. That is why the international unity and interaction of all communists from all over the world on this cardinal issue is particularly important. Our strategy of peace must be even more effectively pitted against the imperialist strategy of war and aggression. /Also in this struggle for mankind's future in peace, Dimitrov's legacy is a living one. It is even more urgent than ever before./

A situation in which the American President declares with such arrogance and brutality and without any scruples a crusade against the socialist countries, the national liberation movement, communism and progress makes it literally imperative to mobilize as broadly as possible all anti-imperialist, revolutionary and progressive forces. It is essential to unite especially our own

ranks, not to succumb to illusions, not to weaken our vigilance and watchfulness, not to belittle anything in our work and to approach our duties, be it on the national or international scales, with a great sense of responsibility for preserving the human civilization and culture.

We believe that we are acting in the spirit of Georgi Dimitrov's legacy when we demand that our parties, communist and revolutionary workers parties, regardless of where in the world they work, should have the opportunity from time to time to exchange views on issues of joint interest, to assess in a comradely atmosphere experiences from the struggle against imperialism and to adopt measures toward uniting their forces where this is required by the joined struggle against imperialism, reaction of every ilk, racism and Zionism and for peace and social progress. This naturally applies to individual regions as well as to our movement as a whole. In view of the fact that since the last world consultation of fraternal parties, which was held in Moscow in 1969, many significant events have taken place in the world, marked changes have occurred on the political map of the world and a number of new questions has arisen that should be jointly assessed. The CPCZ, like many other parties, believes that /the time is ripe to prepare a new world consultation./ In our opinion, this consultation would play a useful role, especially in enhancing our movement's contribution to the struggle for peace, which is a matter of primary importance.

There sometimes appear objections to the idea of convening an international conference of communist and workers parties, the argument being that at present every party works out its policy independently and is itself fully responsible for it. No one denies this reality and no collective meeting either casts doubt on it, nor does it limit in any way the individual parties' rights. However, we are convinced that proletarian internationalism is inherent to our movement and that it yields the obligation to jointly face up to our enemies' attacks, to help each other and to demonstrate international solidarity in practice. After all, could our movement still exist if the only thing left of the principle of proletarian internationalism were the emphasis on mutual respect and each party's equality and independence and if we failed to see at the same time the immense importance of mutual cooperation, interaction and coresponsibility for the successes and failures in the struggle for implementing our ideals? /Our strength lies in the ideological, political and action unity, and if this strength is to become manifest, it is necessary to wage a constant struggle for the unity, to seek ways that make it alive, ways leading--as Vladimir Ilich Lenin demanded--to "the concrete application of a united international line to the specific features of each country."/

For Dimitrov, internationalism was also tied to high moral qualities. He identified the duty of international solidarity with a courageous fight for the ideas of proletarian internationalism--a fight which does not halt even in the face of a threat of prison and persecution. These moral qualities were particularly prominent in his devotion to the Soviet Union, in the deep intrinsic relationship he felt toward the heroic Soviet people because they had taken upon themselves the role of pioneer of socialism.

For him the relationship toward the Soviet Union was the foundation of full faith in a happier life of the Bulgarian peoples, as well as of his conviction that the ideas of socialism would achieve a final victory. He was both a friend of the Soviet Union, which he admired, and also its citizen--he became one the moment the international proletarian solidarity had wrested him from the hands of Hitlerite fascism after the end of the Leipzig trial when he was unable to return to his fatherland. The Masaryk humanitarian democracy, so greatly praised and presented as an example, at that time did not allow him transit through Czechoslovakia. /He loved the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, and, like our Klement Gottwald, he saw the main criterium of proletarian internationalism in a positive relationship toward the Soviet Union./ Herein, too, lies the topical value of his legacy to the present."

It was and remains valid that without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary practice. We are repeatedly stressing this great truth. However, we must also realize that if the revolutionary theory is to be a true guideline for revolutionary practice, it must be constantly developed and enriched. The revolutionary theory is a generalized experience of the entire revolutionary movement. We can acquire such experience only at joint meetings, conferences and consultations. There is no reason to avoid frank, comradely discussions. We must strive for an exchange of our parties' experience, which would show us the path forward, strengthen our action ability under the contemporary conditions of the current epoch of mankind's transition to socialism, consolidate our conviction of the final victory of communism, and multiply our strength with healthy optimism.

The name of Georgi Dimitrov is connected with quite a few glorious pages in the history of the CPCZ. As far back as the fifth Komintern congress in 1924, Dimitrov considerably contributed to elaborating the party's Leninist line, particularly in the matter of a united front. Throughout the 'twenties he actively assisted the healthy forces of our party in their fight for a Marxist-Leninist, revolutionary and internationalist orientation, which victoriously asserted itself at the historical Fifth CPCZ Congress in 1929. By his advice and experience, as well as his extensive active political work, he significantly contributed toward organizing the Czechoslovak people's defense against the Hitlerite aggression, and later also the Czechs' and Slovaks' liberation fight against fascism, which grew over into a national and democratic revolution in our fatherland toward the end of the war.

Already prior to the war, Georgi Dimitrov found his way to the prominent public and cultural figures of Czechoslovak life. I need not particularly stress the admiration he won among a large part of our people for his heroic behavior in the Leipzig trial which I have already mentioned. We particularly esteem the deep friendship and comradely cooperation of many years standing between Georgi Dimitrov and Klement Gottwald, prominent figure in our party. Their creative relationship yielded invaluable stimuli for our two parties, for the communist and workers movement.

Together with other leading representatives of the socialist community that was then being established, Dimitrov played a key role in elaborating the concept of the people's democracy as a form of specific approach to the socialist revolution. For the international revolutionary movement this concept became a significant example of the creative application of natural laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism under specific historical and national conditions of individual countries. The realization of this concept in itself represents an expressive argument against the more-or-less artificial theory on taking over a uniform model of building socialism by the countries of people's democracy.

With Georgi Dimitrov are bound the traditions of fraternal relations between the CPCZ and BCP, traditions of firm friendship, alliance and cooperation between the peoples of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the CSSR, which we are developing and deepening today in the interests of the upsurge of our entire community, in the interest of socialism, peace and progress throughout the world.

Our people had to, and did, draw conclusions from the Munich betrayal of Western powers, as well as from the capitulationism of the Czechoslovak bourgeoisie and its helpers. Our people entrusted the administration of their affairs to those who had been the most consistent fighters against fascism, and tied the country's destiny to their true friends.

In friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, a reliable foundation was created for building up a new life in which the people became free of exploiters and oppressors--for a life in peace. In the people of the socialist countries our people found sincere friends who rallied into an international social system, who were founding new and truly fraternal relations based on equal rights of free nations.

/The knowledge that peace is indivisibly tied to socialism and that the Soviet Union and other countries of real socialism are guarantees of a peaceful constructive life belongs among the basic components of our people's historic experience./

By means of a socialist revolution, the inevitable conditions for basic social changes were established in our country. This path was successful and we are justly proud of it. The working man became the master of his country. Man's exploitation by man was eliminated; the inequality of the rights of nationalities abolished; poverty, beggary and unemployment, as well as fear of the future eliminated. Industry and banks were nationalized, large estates split up and our rural areas reorganized on socialist foundations. Thus, the nature of our society was radically changed; it is now characterized by a mutual rapprochement and cooperation of all strata of working people. A dignified life for our every citizen has been ensured. A magnificent system of care for man's education, culture and health has been built up. It is on the basis of all these historical social changes that a higher kind of democracy was created--a democracy for the working people. Only the workers

class, which rules in union with the farmers and the intelligentsia--and this is possible only under socialism--establishes a wide scope for true freedom and democracy. And it is only under the conditions of this kind of democracy that man can fully develop his individual rights and freedoms. Democracy outside the rule of the people is imperfect and after all serves the interests of the ruling class, which represents the smaller part of society.

The path of socialist reorganization was not and is not easy. It is a path of fighting, a path on which it is necessary to resolve new and the most difficult tasks and to overcome unfamiliar obstacles and many difficulties. Frequently our shortcomings stemmed from illusions about the easiness of this path. We defeated the domestic bourgeoisie; but we did not always take into account that international imperialism has not given up its efforts to harm us in all kinds of ways and to disintegrate the emerging socialist society. We also lived through a deep crisis. The return to Leninist principles made it possible to successfully overcome that crisis, too.

The significance of the legacy left by Georgi Dimitrov, communist and noble man, is not decreasing with the passing of time; his work and life cannot fall into oblivion. That history of which we are the contemporaries confirms year after year the rich, all-round and truthful nature of the ideas to which he had consecrated his life and subordinated all his work; in his time, under the conditions in which he lived and operated, he consecrated his life and subordinated his work to developing the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and enriching the policy of the communist movement. His work continues to live in his native country, which is implementing this legacy left by this great Bulgarian to his peoples in building socialism and in developing it. His work is alive in the successes of the international workers and communist movement, in the advance and consolidation of the countries of the socialist community.

Georgi Dimitrov lived and worked for his people and for the working people of all countries. He fought for the truth of Marxism-Leninism, for man's happiness. He remained a loyal son of his people, but his work transcends the framework of Bulgaria. /He has simultaneously become the son of the international revolutionary movement./

Zhivkov Speaks

AU221836 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Jun 82 pp 1, 2

[Speech by Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee secretary general and State Council chairman read on 17 June at the Sofia International Theoretical Conference "The Cause of Georgi Dimitrov and Our Times"--passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] Esteemed guests, esteemed comrades,

First of all, I would like to point out that the BCP delegation is taking the floor ~~last~~ because it is the host of this conference, and not because it intends to make a concluding speech.

Our conference approaches its end. During these 3 days the floor has been taken by many comrades, representatives of communist and workers' parties and representatives of the various revolutionary-democratic movements, and the voices of various generations have been heard.

/What united our thoughts and feelings was the deep respect toward Georgi Dimitrov and his revolutionary cause./

The high evaluation of the personality and cause of Georgi Dimitrov fills the Bulgarian communists and the entire working people with logical and noble pride.

Georgi Dimitrov--the remarkable revolutionary of the Leninist type, noted figure of the international communist and workers' movement, uncompromising fighter against fascism and war, and respected secretary general of the Comintern--was a great son of Bulgaria, from the flesh of the Bulgarian workers' class, a talented student of Dimitur Blagoev, the founder of our Marxist-revolutionary party, and a beloved leader of our party during a fateful period of its 90-year history.

Allow me, esteemed guests and comrades, to express the most cordial gratitude of the BCP Central Committee for the moving words about Georgi Dimitrov, our party and our country.

As you know very well, the great historic personalities, in solving the problems of their time, create the ideas and principles which remain as a heritage for their successors and as an immortal treasure. Thus they become contemporaries of the future.

The power of Georgi Dimitrov, as a theoretician and political figure, is in his boundless loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to the proletarian and socialist internationalism. He was a master of the revolutionary movement and had the remarkable skill to discover new forms and approaches for successfully developing the revolutionary energy of the masses, as well as new ways and means coordinated with the objective needs of the time. He knew how to master the lessons of life, to test the correctness of theoretical postulates in the practical activity of the masses, and to propose new solutions, which in the final account enriched the theory itself.

This innovation in the practical and theoretical activity of Georgi Dimitrov is a bright example of the awareness of historic responsibility, which characterizes the activity of the communists, the communists and workers' parties and their leaders. Georgi Dimitrov had the spiritual force and ability to carry such responsibility.

It is enough to recall his merit in the Leninization of the BCP, his great duel with fascism during the Leipzig trial, his great contribution to developing and strengthening the International Communist Movement, and his theoretical and practical activity during the first years of Bulgaria's socialist construction.

Organizing this conference, we proceeded from the conviction that the cause of Georgi Dimitrov and his theoretical contribution, as well as his life as a revolutionary figure, are a source of lessons and dialogue, and a basis for fruitful thoughts, analysis and summaries which can have direct importance for our work and struggle.

Dear guests, comrades, the second half of the thirties, the period in which Dimitrov led the communist international, was a complex and responsible period of human history. Together with his comrades from the leadership of the Comintern, and utilizing the experience and theoretical postulates of the CPSU and a number of other communist parties, he made an exceptionally great contribution to developing a new strategy and tactics for the communist movement.

Our time is different. Significant quantitative and qualitative transformations in the situation of the class forces have taken. Time poses new problems, fateful for mankind's future.

/Obviously, peace and preventing a world thermonuclear war is the focus of all these problems.

Engels and Lenin envisaged that war would become absurd when new weapons capable of destroying entire armies were created. Today such weapon exists. The modern war will not recognize borders or classes. There will be no front and rear, fighting and neutral sides, victors and defeated.

/Consequently, today the question of preventing a thermonuclear catastrophe is the question of questions, which affects all peoples and classes and the very existence of mankind./

Subsequently, today according to our evaluation, this is the most important strategic task of the countries of real socialism, the international communist and workers' movement and all other progressive, peace-loving and democratic forces throughout the world.

To not allow the kindling of a world thermonuclear fire is in our opinion the cardinal problem of the development of the world revolutionary process. The successful construction of socialism and communism is closely connected with peace. The victorious development of the national and social revolutions is also connected with peace. Finally, all mankind's general progress is connected with peace.

The fact that nuclear war is absurd, unfortunately does not mean that there is no danger of such a war. The upsurge of the struggle for peace and this struggle's successes mostly depend on the skill of organizing and mobilizing the forces which oppose war.

In this respect, Georgi Dimitrov is an example and lesson on how to specifically and historically analyze the present, and mark the approaches, tasks and scope of the work according to changing conditions. It is necessary,

as he used to say, "to take into consideration the final situation at every moment and in any given place," to reveal and solve at every stage "the /concrete/ tasks of the revolutionary movement, which /correspond/ to this stage."

/We are not fatalists,/ and do not think that war is inevitable. /On the contrary, we are optimists. We struggle, and we believe that war can be prevented and peace strengthened./ We are deeply convinced /that peaceful coexistence between states with different social system is the only sensible alternative to thermonuclear war, and that this corresponds to the interests of all states and peoples and of all mankind./

At the present stage, do we have enough possibilities to isolate and neutralize the warmongers?

Yes, mankind can prevent a thermonuclear war.

/First./ Those who are pushing the world toward a nuclear war are a negligible minority, and their real goals are so unhuman that they are afraid to publicly express them. Their policy opposes the interests of the workers' class and of other classes and strata as well, and in the final account even the interests of the ruling class.

/Second./ The present policy of the imperialist forces, and first of all of the United States, is absurd and sharply confronts not only the interests of the overwhelming majority of states but of the United States itself.

/Third./ The coordinated and constructive foreign policy of the socialist community is acting against the doomed adventurist policy of imperialism's reactionary circles. Our foreign policy enjoys the support of all peace-loving forces because it aims not only at securing peaceful conditions for building the new society, but also at saving all mankind, the future generations and human civilization.

/Fourth./ History, since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, has consistently confirmed the truth which resounded strongly here; namely, that the communist movement is the most consistent and decisive force in the struggle for peace. Today the world communist and workers' movement is much more powerful and more influential than during the time of Georgi Dimitrov. It develops, searches and discovers new forms of activity and struggle, new forms of association and solidarity, especially in the struggle for preventing a world war.

The general class goals and tasks, as well as mankind's task to prevent a nuclear death, and our status as the most decisive force in the struggle for peace, require from us, communists, to closely rally and coordinate our actions.

/Fifth./ The national-liberation movement, the developing countries and non-aligned countries' movement are today a powerful factor in the general front of the struggle against imperialism, and for peace, democracy and social progress.

In this context I would like to touch upon the /question of the antiwar movements in the capitalist countries./ I fully share the opinion that these movements became a substantial factor of our time.

/The scope of this movement is indicative./ Its scope, as a rule, is unprecedented in the hitherto history of the struggle for peace. In many countries, including the United States, hundreds of thousands of people are participating in marches, demonstrations, meetings and rallies against the nuclear war danger and against the policy of the United States and NATO's militaristic circles.

/The broad and democratic character of this movement is indicative./ Although spontaneous, it engulfs on an equal basis masses of people from different class and social groups, with different educations and opinions, with different party affiliation, and with different religious beliefs.

/The fact that the antiwar movement is to a large degree a youth movement is indicative./ More and more youth of the capitalist countries realize that there cannot be personal happiness if there are no peaceful conditions for a normal human life for all.

/The fact that the communists are among the most active figures of the antiwar movement is indicative./ This is natural--the struggle for peace, which is anti-imperialist in its nature--cannot exist without the most consistent fighters against imperialism. The communists do not aim at imposing their political line on the participants in the movement. In the struggle for peace there is no place for rivalry and isolation of this or that progressive force.

/The fact that the mass antiwar movements developed with special power in the developed capitalist countries is also indicative./ The people there begin to understand that the military danger results from the policy of the present U.S. administration and some of its allies in their own countries.

/The present more or less spontaneous, more or less different, and ever more antiwar movements can obtain even greater significance in international policy and the common struggle for peace./

In this context I would like to mention two important problems, in my opinion, which cannot be ignored because they affect the very essence of the antiwar movements.

/The first problem is that of not allowing the antiwar movement to be divided, and not decreasing and blurring its anti-imperialist direction./

One must decisively reject the attempts to place the United States and the USSR, and NATO and the Warsaw Pact on the same level. The antiwar movement must struggle not against those who are strong, but against those who utilize their power for aggression, wars and adventures. And this is imperialism. This is the present U.S. administration and its allies in other countries. The USSR is the main support of peace. Those who really want to struggle against war must know who their enemies and their friends are.

/The other problem is the attempt to weaken the vigilance of the antiwar forces and weaken their pressure./ Recently, the ruling imperialist circles, obviously alarmed by the awakening of the broad people's masses which they underestimated until recently, began overt maneuvers to deceive public opinion. They donned the peace-loving mask. They issue proposals which ostensibly are in favor of peace and detente, but actually aim against peace, because they strive toward military superiority. Some of President Reagan's recent proposals, for example the so-called "zero option," have such a character.

One of the most important characteristics of our time, in comparison with the period preceding World War II, is the practically /unlimited character of the forces/ interested in preserving and strengthening peace. /The global nature of a thermonuclear catastrophe gives a global character to the struggle for overcoming this danger./

This is the source of our conviction that a possibility exists, favorable for the cause of peace, to mark a /border/ which will leave on one side the military-political leadership of the United States and its most reactionary allies, and on the other, the ever growing front of peace and the anti-military forces and factors, which will include:

--from /a class point of view/--the workers and peasants, the intelligentsia, the small landowners, the middle and even a substantial part of the wealthy bourgeoisie;

--from a /political point of view/--communists and socialists, peasants' and various other parties and unions of the petty bourgeoisie, democratic and liberal parties, and realistically thinking political and state figures;

--from the /viewpoint of the states/--the socialist community--the most powerful and consistent fortress of peace--the developing countries, and the governments of a number of developed capitalist countries;

--and from the /point of view of the social movements and organizations/--the youth and women's organizations, the trade unions and the environmental protection movements, sportsmen, artists, the creative unions and various clubs of people with similar hobbies and religious organizations.

/In order to preserve peace we need purposeful work for mobilizing all peace-loving forces and factors for the construction of the widest possible front of peace./ The words of Georgi Dimitrov sound very topical in the present situation: "Against fascism and war, we do not need empty words and platonic wishes, but action."

Comrades, it is clear to all that the present adventurist foreign policy of the United States is aimed most of all against the USSR and the other socialist countries. The present leaders of the United States are passionately, blindly and without any sense of reality dreaming of "burying" socialism and "taking revenge" against the Great October and the many other revolutions which changed the political map of the earth.

Simultaneously, spreading the myth of "Soviet threat" and "communist aggression," the United States is unceremoniously hurting the interests of its allies in West Europe and Japan, and the interests of the developing countries. /The U.S. hegemonism, which has never acted so strongly, is the center of this policy. This is a policy which also leads toward increasing the tremors in the capitalist world./

It is well-known that capitalism is experiencing an exceptionally difficult and permanent in its nature crisis--which has an economic, social and moral character.

--The economy of the capitalist countries is engulfed by deep structural crises: raw material, energy and ecological crises.

--The periodic economic crises have become more frequent and their scope has increased. Only during the last decade, there were three such crises which engulfed almost all developed capitalist countries. The development peace of many Western countries significantly decreased.

--A great part of the production capacities of the capitalist countries are not being utilized. Especially affected are many branches like ferrous metallurgy, the textile industry, automobile production and others.

--Unemployment has reached great dimensions--almost 8 percent of the labor force. The situation is even more difficult among the youth. Inflation is constantly growing.

Relations among the capitalist countries are now considerably different than during the years after World War II. The economic, monetary and trade leadership of the United States has decreased. If in 1950, for instance, the scope of U.S. industrial production was twice as large as the production of West Europe and Japan together, then at the beginning of our decade the U.S. share dropped to 29 percent, while West Europe and Japan contribute more than 47 percent of the capitalist world's industrial production.

/The common class interests and the common fear/ of the development and success of socialism are pushing the West European and Japanese bourgeoisie toward allying with the United States, and sometimes compel them to give in to the pressure of the U.S. monopolies, to search for compromises and to strengthen the common antisocialist front.

Simultaneously, however, /the rivalry and competition/ in the economic area are increasing, and this affects the political relations.

/In this situation the attempts of the United States to pull itself out of the crises at the expense of its allies--the other capitalist countries--and the states of the so-called "Third World" become ever more apparent./

The United States is striving to hold down the economic development of West Europe and Japan by various means. It utilizes the mechanism of high interest, applies pressure on NATO's European members and Japan to increase their military expenditures and undertake a greater share in the "defense of the West," and tries to compel them to apply the notorious "sanctions" which aim at curbing the mutually beneficial economic cooperation of the capitalist countries with the socialist states.

The West European and Japanese business and political circles understand this and oppose the United States hesitantly or more boldly.

The attitude of the United States and the leading circles of most of the capitalist countries toward the /issue of detente/ is also different. In West Europe there are also some circles of the monopolist bourgeoisie which are supporting Reagan's policy. However, the opinion that there is no alternative to peaceful coexistence is becoming ever more predominant in the business and political circles of many countries. They are ever more determinedly supporting negotiations on disputed matters and restoring the spirit of detente.

/The contradictions between the United States and the developing countries/ are even deeper. The leading circles cannot become reconciled to the fact that the basic part of the young national states are striving toward political and economic independence, and toward independently disposing of their natural and human resources. These circles declared the revolutionary and national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America "international terrorism," while it is they alone who render overt assistance to military juntas and dictatorial regimes. These circles apply pressure on the progressive governments and are openly threatening them. They conduct an economic policy which hinders the progress of the developing countries and intensifies the poverty and lagging behind of this part of the world, where billions of our brothers are living. Today the debts of the developing countries to the capitalist countries reach the impressive figure of \$500 billion.

From all this /it is apparent that the front of the forces which are objectively interested in conducting a struggle against U.S. hegemonism is exceptionally broad./ Without clearing the reactionary circles of other countries, it is our duty to unmask and isolate U.S. imperialism--the main culprit for the huge burden of the arms race and the difficult situation of the developing countries, as well as for the present difficulties of the capitalist countries.

From the rostrum of the British parliament Mr Reagan declared a new "crusade" against socialism. The facts, however, convincingly prove that U.S. imperialism is actually conducting a crusade of much larger scope--a crusade not only against socialism, but also against its own allies, the developing countries, the workers' class, the peasants, intelligentsia, women and youth of the entire world, a crusade against the vital interests of its people--one against all.

Dear guests, dear comrades,

Life irrefutably confirms that the problem of war and peace, as all other cardinal problems of our time, cannot be solved without, and furthermore against, real socialism.

Why? Because in the contemporary world real socialism has consolidated not only huge territories of the globe, but also because it represents a decisive factor of human progress /first/ in the area of economy /second/ in solving the ancient social problems facing mankind, and /third/ in building powerful armed forces.

What stands behind this conclusion?

/First of all the countries of real socialism have succeeded in creating in a short historical period a reliable defensive potential, which imperialism's aggressive forces--whether they want to or not--must take under consideration./

It was not the socialist countries but imperialism, and first of all U.S. imperialism, which began to create military, military-political and economic blocs after World War II.

It was not the socialist but the imperialist countries, and first of all the United States, which began the production of thermonuclear weapons.

The new social system, created by history, had no other choice but to eliminate the advantages of the imperialists in the military area at the expense of much effort and many casualties. The equality in the balance of power, which was reached, and thanks to which the possibility of strengthening world peace and political detente in the seventies was achieved, is an historic victory and a great success of real socialism and the forces of peace.

Bourgeois propaganda is dilligently diverting the attention of millions of people from the great question: Who is stopping the militarists, who is taming them and thus for almost 40 years has guaranteed peaceful life without a world war? /The answer is categorical: this force is, first of all, real socialism, and in first place the USSR!

/In addition to the military potential of real socialism, its economic successes and the economic potential of our countries have exceptional significance./

During the 1950-1980 period the national income of all socialist countries increased 8 times, the volume of their industrial production 14 times, and the capital investments (for the CEMA member-countries) almost 12 times. Despite the fact that due to some logical reasons the peace of our development has decreased in recent years, it is still higher by 2-4 percent.

We do not underestimate the economy of the developed capitalist countries and their economic potential, which was created over centuries through exploitation of their own and foreign nations. These countries have a larger absolute growth of national income than the socialist countries. This is an advantage, but a temporary advantage only.

Some ideologists and politicians in the West maintain and obviously believe that intensifying the arms race will exhaust the economies of the socialist countries and will evoke social tremors and political destabilization in these countries.

We do not argue, the expenditures we are forced to allocate for the goals of our defense are not the best fashion for utilizing the respective part of our national income. If the arms race, imposed by imperialism, did not exist, the socialist countries would have significantly faster and better solved the important problems of the material and cultural well-being of their peoples.

And yet, those who hope that we will not allocate the necessary means for defending our freedom are deceiving themselves. The peoples of the socialist countries, and especially the Soviet Union, paid a very high price during World War II and the struggle against fascism and capitalism, and cannot now afford to weaken the defense of their socialist motherland and world peace.

The economic blockade and economic sanctions, embargo, and so forth, initiated by the developed capitalist countries and first of all the United States, cannot affect the economy of the socialist countries as Mr Reagan imagines. These discriminatory measures are really evoking some difficulties in our countries. However, let nobody cultivate any illusions--the economy of real socialism is capable of overcoming all kinds of embargo restrictions.

The policy of undermining the economic and scientific-technical relations between the capitalist and socialist countries is unrealistic. It contradicts the development tendencies of the world economy. The internationalization of economy and the expansion of the international division of labor and the development of the scientific-technical revolution are objectively imposing the development of mutually beneficial cooperation.

Therefore, we will further struggle for expanding relations and cooperation in the area of economy, and in the areas of science and technology, culture and sport as well.

/In third place, it is not without significance that the socialist countries are successfully solving the basic social problems of their peoples in the contemporary complex political and economic international situation./

It is socialism, such as that which is being constructed in our countries, that implements the ancient dreams of the fighters for social justice and worthy human life.

/The exploitation of man by man has been liquidated once and for all/ in the socialist countries. The situation of each person depends mainly on his work and on his contribution to enlarging the public wealth.

Real socialism has guaranteed and is guaranteeing the /right to work/ to all citizens capable of working. Already during the first years of socialist industrialization and cooperation in agriculture, the open and hidden kinds of unemployment, appearing in various forms, were liquidated.

Under the conditions of socialism, full employment, the organization of labor and labor's wages are free of any /racial, sex, age and other forms of discrimination./ For equal labor: equal wages, equal right of holiday, equal retirement rights and so forth--such is one of the basic principles of socialist lawmaking and practical activity in the area of labor relations.

Socialism opened /broad horizons for education and culture,/ and in a very short historic period not only liquidated illiteracy, which it inherited from the past, but also significantly increased the educational and cultural level of the people.

/Free medical aid/ was a great social acquisition of real socialism. This right is being enjoyed by all members of society, along with the /right to a holiday,/ and conditions for /developing mass physical culture, sports and tourism./

Steadily on a course of developing socialist democracy--direct and representative democracy--our countries are searching for new means and forms of more massively engaging the working people in managing the economy, culture and state affairs.

Comrades, while dealing with the place and role of the socialist countries in the contemporary world, we cannot ignore the principled significance of the question of the /attitude toward the USSR./

Georgi Dimitrov used to stress that the USSR's place in contemporary history is not determined by any subjective considerations and moods, but by objective factors, and first of all by the fact that the USSR was the first to discover and create socialism in a great country; by its exceptionally rich revolutionary experience; by its objectively decisive role in social progress, and by the real assistance it renders to the world revolutionary and democratic forces.

Our evaluation is that this definition applies today also.

It is not necessary to go too far back in order to understand that this is so. The CPSU and the Soviet Government are constantly proving their adherence to the cause of peace and are taking steps, including unilateral ones, leading toward strengthening world confidence and security. And [word indistinct] the day before yesterday, on the first day of our conference,

an event of invaluable importance in the peoples' struggle for peace took place; in the message of Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev to the UN General Assembly second special session on disarmament the USSR undertook an obligation not to use nuclear weapons first.

Now the floor belongs to others. Let us hope that the United States and the other nuclear states will respond to the noble gesture. However, there is no doubt that the news about the USSR declaration will resound in the hearts of millions, will enhance the longing for peace and will give a new and powerful impetus to the struggle for peace.

It is our party's opinion that the participants in the theoretical conference devoted to the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov, the great peace fighter, who represents 140 communists, revolutionary-democratic and progressive parties and international democratic organizations, are fully justified in addressing all peoples and all peace-loving forces in the world with the appeal to support the USSR initiative, to demand that all other nuclear states follow this example and renounce being the first to use nuclear weapons, which would practically mean a banning of the use of such weapons on the whole.

It is the tremendous good fortune of mankind that the Soviet Union exists--that this giant of socialist society exists, this country which with its great political prestige and its inexhaustible economic power, with its great cultural life, with its invincible military forces, represents a reliable shield protecting the socialist community and worldwide peace.

We, the Bulgarian Communists, just like in Dimitrov's lifetime and today, still think that the Soviet Union has been and remains the main hope and support, the banner of the great struggle waged by the peoples for peace, freedom, democracy and communism.

Comrades, are there, in the development of the countries where socialist revolution has been victorious, difficulties, shortcomings and problems? Indeed, there are such difficulties, shortcomings and problems, comrades. We are realists and we admit that we have difficulties, due to both subjective and objective reasons. I have dwelled on some of them already.

Starting from the basis, from the principles of our teaching, we are searching for the most efficient solutions to new problems, unprecedented in history, and this is a difficult, complicated and controversial process. Shortcomings are inevitable in such a process and mistakes are possible.

Unfortunately, however, life has shown us that not only are shortcomings and mistakes possible, but also deviations from Marxist-Leninist principles and gross violations of the requirements of general laws, likely to produce situations of crisis and social conflict. In some more difficult cases, they may even affect and threaten socialist achievements as such. This inevitably causes difficulties for the other socialist countries, as well as affecting the entire communist and workers movement.

What is the main element that characterizes real socialism? The main characteristic is that we are proceeding forward, that we are overcoming difficulties and shortcomings, that we are successfully resolving the existing urgent problems and that we are daily increasing the material and cultural prosperity of our new society in the people's interest, in the interest of man.

Real socialism at the present stage of development is far from being the final implementation of our ideal as mapped out by Marx, Engels and Lenin. It has not even yet fully revealed its advantages over capitalism. This is a fact.

It is also a fact, however, that it is precisely this real socialism, and not any other kind of nonexistent socialism, that is developing and improving, that is getting rid of shortcomings, and thus not only comes close to the ideal, but represents its gradual, practical, historical implementation. It is impossible to work and struggle for an ideal by rejecting or underrating the real steps forward accomplished in the process of its practical implementation.

On this basis, we in the People's Republic of Bulgaria are joining together the working people, we are rallying them and solving their problems, we are advancing along the Dimitrov path.

Our socialist society has gone through important stages in its ascending development. Georgi Dimitrov outlined a program for the stage of transition from capitalism to socialism. This was a period of great historical changes, during which tasks of crucial importance were resolved in a creative manner. Now the times have changed. We are building a developed socialist society which is confronting us with subsequent new problems. Bulgaria has changed today. It is an industrial-agrarian country which is developing at high and stable rates of speed. Within only the last decade we created a new, second, Bulgaria, figuratively speaking, as far as the size of economic successes is concerned. We are now entering the period of the eighties, so to speak, with a country that is twice as large as Bulgaria, from the economic point of view. Regardless of the difficulties stemming from the unfavorable political atmosphere and economic situation on an international scale, regardless of our own shortcomings, we not only prevented our people's living standard from deteriorating, but on the contrary, this standard has actually improved.

New theoretical and practical problems are emerging along the path of our development, problems which we are trying to solve in a creative manner.

We are building the material-technical basis of a developed socialist society on the basis of the top achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. In this connection we are developing electronics, robots, and microprocessing technical equipment, as well as biotechnologies and so forth, and we have also introduced large-scale mechanization and automation in production.

--We are implementing intensive priority development in the economy and in other spheres of social life, we are increasing the effectiveness of production, and we are promoting its modernization, reorganization, specialization and concentration in our total national economic sphere.

--We are implementing a new principle of socialist property. In the future the working people in our country will be considered by the state as the owners of production means, but the direct masters of this property are the workers collective. This creates a principally new situation as regards the expansion of activities, the interest of the working people and their concern about management, about increasing the results of their work.

--We are applying a new, practical approach to planning and to socialist labor organization. The state plan is a law, but it is limited to a restricted number of obligatory indexes. The rest of the indexes are achieved through the counterplans which are the cause of the workers collectives.

--We are perfecting the labor remuneration system on the basis of the socialist principle of quality and quantity of labor invested.

--We are further developing our political system and our socialist democracy. It is our goal to find even better solutions to the question of man's progress, for the comprehensive and effective self-realization of the individual, for the expansion of criticism and self-criticism as a moving force of our development, etc. The enhanced role of social organizations and of the state power organs is being intensified. We are perfecting our socialist way of life.

I am only dwelling on a few of the new problems which we are coping with at the present stage of development. As in the past, we are not yielding to difficulties and shortcomings, we are working and will work in the awareness that we have devoted ourselves to the great cause of the people and the future. Our people are aware of this and they are on our side.

In our comprehensive activities we are relying upon the glorious Marxist-Leninist teaching which we are creatively applying to the specific conditions in our country, as Georgi Dimitrov always did and demanded. The entire development of the International Communist Movement--I would even say the worldwide development in the last decades--confirms that Marxism-Leninism is not a dogma, but an eternally alive, constantly developing and evolving theory. Lenin himself set a glorious example of creative approach to Marxist theory. However, Lenin corrected certain tenets and conclusions drawn by Marx and Engels, not by denying their significance, but by soundly adopting the positions of Marxism, its theoretical principles, and by brilliantly applying its revolutionary methodology.

Historical experience shows that, under contemporary conditions as well, we can develop our theory not by disregarding Lenin, but by creatively introducing and adopting everything that is new, everything he added to the teaching of Marx and Engels; but we must do this by solidly relying upon the position of Marxism-Leninism.

We can ask ourselves, comrades, what would the world look like if real socialism did not exist?

We are deeply aware of the great historical responsibilities assumed by the countries belonging to the socialist community, responsibilities which not only apply to the new social system and to social progress, but to the destiny of mankind and civilization as a whole. This is precisely why we are doing and will do everything within our power to support and rally all forces in the struggle for mankind's self-defense.

This is precisely why the defense of real socialism must be the primary cause of all revolutionary and peace-loving forces.

This means, esteemed comrades, that whether it pleases certain people or not, real socialism is the main support of peace and social progress at the present stage of human history.

Comrades, the analysis of contemporary reality, of the danger represented by nuclear war, of the forces which are struggling for peace leads us to the following conclusions:

--If in the thirties fascism was the main threat to mankind, and if Georgi Dimitrov determined as a basic political line creating united people's antifascist fronts,

--Now, in the eighties of our century, the main danger threatening mankind is nuclear disaster, whose exponent is American imperialism, above all. And it is the primary task to create a united front, rallying antiwar, peace-loving forces and all those who are aware of the fact that there is no sensible alternative to peaceful coexistence.

This is the main difference between the thirties and the present. This determines the difference in approach, in the forms, goals and scope of action which were valid for the thirties and those which apply to the present-day historical stage of development.

In our opinion many important conclusions can be drawn from these facts.

First of all, neither the existence of a common political platform nor the construction of any common structures likely to assume the leadership of the struggle against nuclear danger, should be permitted as conditions or prerequisites for joint action today.

The peace and disarmament movement must not by any means be regarded as opposition against the policy of the government in a given country. This movement may include ruling politicians and circles, as well as whole governments concerned about the growing tension in the world and interested in eliminating the threat of nuclear disaster.

The struggle must be aimed against those circles which are trying to liquidate military balance between East and West, which are declaring themselves against detente and against the search for ways of alleviating international tension, against those who are conducting a policy of confrontation, blockade and "sanctions."

It is of particular importance that the efforts of all those who are interested in peace should create a favorable climate for a constant dialogue between East and West.

The forms of cooperation and unity of action between different antiwar forces are most varied--from previously coordinated actions and campaigns, forums, and discussions of different problems to united actions or actions which each organization or movement is implementing independently. The territorial scope of these actions is also different, whether it is organized on a global, regional, national or local scale.

Obviously, we must show flexibility and a creative approach: we must, in a Leninist manner, make use of compromises in order to attract and rally allies, and in particular the young people who are very interested in peace today. Nothing should prevent any party, organ, movement, or individual from participating in the struggle for peace. All people who are aware of the danger represented by nuclear war must join the movement.

As to our party and country, I would like to assure you that also in the future we will continue to conduct a consistent policy of peace, understanding and cooperation in the Balkans, Europe and throughout the world. This policy will be conducted along party and state lines, but also along social lines. We will do everything within our power in order to guarantee the success of the peace struggle and we will always be in the front lines of the world's antiwar forces.

Comrades, Georgi Dimitrov was born on the eve of a century which was destined by history to become the century of basic change in the thousands of years of human existence. This century was marked by the Great October Socialist Revolution, by the triumph of socialist ideas, the victories of the international communist and workers movement, and the victory of progressive forces and movements throughout the world.

To work and live in our times is a cause of great happiness. We are best aware of this, we, the leaders of the parties and movements who devoted themselves to the struggles and goals of the workers class, to the struggles and goals of the forces of peace and progress.

We know, of course, that this happiness has a difficult side.

We are aware that this same 20th century has included the most serious and devastating threats that have ever endangered mankind.

This century has known the threat of the nuclear self-destruction of mankind.

Naturally, this threat cannot discourage us. On the contrary, it increases our strength, consolidates our will and rallies our ranks. I believe that also the present conference devoted to one of the greatest architects of the antiwar movement in the past, will be useful to our struggle for peace and disarmament.

This will be a worthy expression of our respect for the personality and cause of Georgi Dimitrov, a bright confirmation of the irreversible significance of his ideas.

If Georgi Dimitrov had lived today and were among us, I do not doubt that he would have appealed to us with his characteristic strength of conviction and passion:

--To rally the militant ranks of the communist and workers movements;

--To consolidate our unity with socialist, national revolutionary and democratic parties and movements;

--To consolidate our links with the masses and indefatigably to expand the front of the forces fighting and working for peace, against war and for social progress.

I wish you all, esteemed comrades, and your parties and movements, new achievements in your difficult but noble work and in your struggle. I wish you new victories on behalf of peace and progress, on behalf of a peaceful future for our world.

Ponomarev Speaks at Meeting

AU221225 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Jun 82 p 2

[Greeting address delivered by Boris Ponomarev, CPSU Central Committee secretary and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, at festive meeting devoted to Georgi Dimitrov's centennial on 18 June at the Sofia Palace of Culture]

[Text] Dear friends and comrades,

We have listened with great attention to the inspired address delivered by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. Once again the unforgettable image of Georgi Dimitrov, the remarkable revolutionary and loyal Leninist, has come alive and appeared before us in all his greatness.

In the history of mankind, there are people who, like a torch, shine over mankind's development and its hard struggle from the realm of oppression, exploitation and slavery to the realm of freedom. Among these people the

name of Georgi Dimitrov shines with particular brightness. As the great Russian poet said: "I was the slave of proud thoughts and my life passed in only one stormy passion." This passion for Georgi Dimitrov was the struggle for the liberation of Bulgaria and of the workers class in all countries, of all working people from the oppression of capitalism, from the chains of imperialism. Georgi Dimitrov devoted all the passion of his heart and all his stormy energies to the great cause of socialism without sparing himself.

Over four decades ago, when giving instructions to the graduates of the Leninist school, to his young party comrades, Georgi Dimitrov described in his opinion what a true Leninist revolutionary should look like. He must be capable of constantly educating himself wherever he goes; he must learn from the party, from the masses, from Marx and Lenin. He must not be satisfied with the successes achieved and he should never give up when he has failed. He must place the interests of the workers class and of the party above everything else. He must be a man for whom creative Marxism-Leninism must always be the guiding line in all circumstances; he must be a man who is basically alien to dogmatism. He himself was such a man. His party, the BCP, made him so. Firm principlemindedness, unshakable loyalty to socialist ideals, a broad world outlook and high cultural standard, his vigilance as regards the provocations of the enemy, his political and personal courage made Dimitrov one of the most favorite and beloved heroes of the entire worldwide, revolutionary movement.

I had the good fortune to work with Georgi Dimitrov for 10 years, to become closely acquainted with him as a man, to learn about his thoughts and deeds. He was a noble and honest communist. He was a man with an exceptional purposefulness of mind, with revolutionary [word indistinct] At the same time he was cordial, as well as charming in his relations with his comrades and fellow-workers; but he was irreconcilable as regards enemies. He was an ardent patriot of his native land, and at the same time, he was an internationalist, a man capable of deeply understanding and sharing the personal worries and interests of the working people in other countries as if they were his own.

Everyone who had to deal with him could not fail being deeply impressed by the fact that, in analyzing the essential problems of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement, Dimitrov was always thinking about and adopting the criteria of worldwide history, that he suffered for all mankind and longed for the happiness of all working people on the earth. He was a convinced Marxist-Leninist and as such he saw the meaning of his life in the struggle for the cause of the workers class, for socialism and peace. He set a personal example of selfless spirit and indefatigable enthusiasm in waging this struggle.

Georgi Dimitrov's present anniversary has become a remarkable demonstration of the life-confirming strength and the worldwide international plan of the liberation movement of our time. Representatives of 140 communist,

workers, and revolutionary-democratic parties from all parts of the world have arrived in Sofia to celebrate Dimitrov's centennial. This fact convincingly shows how much the communists and all revolutionaries appreciating virtues, such as loyalty to one's duty, loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, internationalism, selflessness in the struggle for the working people's cause, against war, etc., virtues which were embodied by Georgi Dimitrov in all his activities and in his very personality.

This is precisely why speaking about Georgi Dimitrov means not only recalling the glorious pages of the communists' revolutionary struggle. It means speaking about the present day of the worldwide liberation movement, about its essential problems and goals. It means looking into the future, seeing the prospects of development of contemporary society.

The world is facing difficult times today. The source of growing tension is well-known: This is the policy of aggressive imperialist circles which are trying to stop or even to turn back the process of worldwide social innovation with the help of armaments, including nuclear blackmail, and preparations for war. Under these circumstances the cohesion of the socialist countries is assuming an even greater importance. The unshakable will of their Leninist foreign policy, the unity of action and mutual understanding of all fighters for peace, freedom, socialism and for people's independence is also assuming great importance.

These days the attention of the entire worldwide public is focused on the message sent by Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, the leader of the CPSU and the Soviet state, to the special UN General Assembly session on disarmament, on the declaration that the Soviet Union is onesidedly assuming the commitment not to be the first to have recourse to the use of nuclear weapons. This is a new confirmation of the tremendous strength of good will on part of our country and its peace-loving intentions. At the same time, this is an appeal to all other nuclear states to follow our example. This is an act of the true peace-loving spirit of socialism and is truly of historical importance; it is the eloquent expression of the unshakable will to do everything to eliminate the danger of war that threatens mankind, as well as to prevent a nuclear disaster. The indivisible character of socialism and peace has once more manifested itself with full strength.

It is quite significant that from Bulgaria, from the motherland of the heroic fighter against war and fascism, the appeal came addressed to all peace-loving forces, to all peoples to support the Soviet Union's initiative and to insist that the other nuclear states should give up the use of nuclear weapons which would actually mean a banning of the use of such weapons.

Georgi Dimitrov's contribution to the struggle to overthrow the monarchist regime in Bulgaria, to the struggle against the capitalist system and for the construction of new Bulgaria, as well as for the consolidation of a new socialist order free of exploitation in the world is truly invaluable. As secretary general of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Georgi Dimitrov brilliantly and resolutely revealed his talent as an exceptional, true, national leader, capable of showing the people the correct path of development at a time of drastic change in their history.

At all stages of his indefatigable activities, Georgi Dimitrov firmly and consistently defended the idea of friendship and cooperation with the CPSU, the party of Lenin. Throughout his conscious life he perseveringly worked to consolidate relations with the CPSU. He called upon us to learn from the CPSU and from Lenin how to build the communist party, how to work with the masses, by rallying them and organizing the struggle against the old, exploiting regime and for socialism. The value of Soviet experience is that this is an experience tested and tempered in extremely hard struggles, which the CPSU had to wage in the 20th century, that this is an experience of remarkable worldwide historical victories.

Dimitrov's international legacy lives and is developing in the ever-strengthening friendship between the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples, in close cooperation between the CPSU and the BCP, which are united by indestructible links of true fraternity. Georgi Dimitrov was deeply convinced that Bulgaria would be capable of achieving real liberation and prosperity only in close unity and cooperation with the Soviet Union and with the socialist community countries.

The Bulgarian Communists, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the worthy disciple and continuer of Dimitrov's cause, have transformed their country into an industrial-agrarian, socialist state. The development of all economic branches, of progress in science and culture, the improvement of the working people's material well-being, the perfection of socialist democracy--these are the important results along the path followed by socialist Bulgaria.

In fraternal alliance with the socialist states, the People's Republic of Bulgaria is making its brilliant contribution to the worldwide cause of socialism and peace. L. Brezhnev stated as follows: Tested by time and based on the principles of socialist internationalism, based on a profound unanimity of goals and interests between our parties and states, Soviet-Bulgarian friendship is an important link in the indestructible alliance of peoples in the socialist community, a powerful constructive factor in our joint struggle for peace and communism.

The centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth is a particular holiday for the Soviet people. The great son of the Bulgarian people not only was a witness, but an active participant in our country's socialist construction. Remaining an ardent patriot of Bulgaria which he loved with all his heart and for whose happiness he fought, Georgi Dimitrov found his second fatherland on the Soviet territory.

It is well-known that the fascist jury, forced to acquit Georgi Dimitrov in the trial about the Reichstag fire, decided to expel Georgi Dimitrov and send him back to the country whose citizen he was. Mortal danger was threatening Georgi Dimitrov as a result of this. The monarcho-fascist government of Bulgaria deprived him of his citizenship. This is when Georgi Dimitrov was presented with Soviet citizenship by special decree of the USSR Central Executive Committee.

As a citizen of the Soviet country and as a member of our party, Dimitrov most actively participated in the Soviet people's life and devoted himself to various political tasks. He was elected deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet. From December 1937 to November 1945 Dimitrov, as it befitted a revolutionary leader of the Leninist school, loyally carried out the assignments of his constituents, the working people of the ancient Russian town of Kostroma. There Dimitrov set an example how patriotism and internationalism are one and the same thing for a communist-Leninist.

These days Georgi Dimitrov's anniversary is being celebrated throughout the Soviet country. A festive meeting was held in Moscow yesterday. At the initiative of the Soviet-Bulgarian Friendship Society and at the initiative of numerous social and scientific organizations, mass meetings, conferences and exhibitions in museums, libraries and educational institutions are being organized. Throughout several days our television and radio have carried programs devoted to Georgi Dimitrov and to socialist Bulgaria. The Soviet press is publishing a great amount of material about him. New, exceptionally interesting reeditions of speeches, delivered by Georgi Dimitrov to the Comintern Executive Committee, will be published in the forthcoming issues of some periodicals. On the occasion of the anniversary Georgi Dimitrov's works in Russian language will be published in three volumes and a collection of memoirs about him will be issued as well. The Soviet people revere Georgi Dimitrov's memory and respect him as an outstanding leader of the communist movement and as a great friend of the Soviet people.

Permit me to express our infinite gratitude to the BCP Central Committee for calling and holding the international theoretical conference. The participants in this conference will carry back to their countries and to all parts of the world the bright and vitally important ideas of the struggle against military danger and aggression, against the dark forces of reaction, for the great cause of peaceful life and social progress of all mankind.

Dear friends, the best way of expressing our reverence for Georgi Dimitrov's cause and memory is to persist in unshakable loyalty to the cause to which he devoted his life--the cause of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the cause of peace and communism.

Spanish Delegate's Speech

[Editorial Report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 20 June on page 3 carries a 900-word report on the speech of Romero Marin, member of the Executive Committee and the Secretariat of the Spanish Communist Party Central Committee, at the 19 June session of Sofia's International Theoretical Conference commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov.

The reported version of Marin's speech deals entirely with historical affairs, in two roughly equal parts. The first views Georgi Dimitrov's theoretical

works and stand during the Leipzig trial as a source of inspiration for the Spanish Communist Party during the civil war. The second part describes the joint activity of Georgi Dimitrov and Dolores Ibarruri in the COMINTERN.

In conclusion Marin discusses the importance of the international brigades in the Spanish Civil War, "whose assistance, however, was unfortunately not enough to bring about a change in the policy of the capitalist governments." The reported version of Marin's speech does not contain any references to any specific international issue or any aspect of the international communist and workers' movement other than in connection with the Spanish Civil War.

Mongolian Delegate Speaks

AU241620 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Jun 82 p 6

[Speech by Yumjaagiyn Molomjants, Politburo member and secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) Central Committee at the International Ideological Conference in Sofia marking the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth, on 16 June 1982]

[Text] The Mongolian Communists and the working people in our country deeply revere Georgi Dimitrov as a loyal Marxist-Leninist, as a consistent proletarian, revolutionary and indefatigable fighter for the cause of the workers class and communism.

The worldwide progressive forces are preserving the immortal memory of Georgi Dimitrov's name and cause in their hearts. He was a true herald of the antifascist movement and a selfless fighter against fascism and war. The indomitable strength of his communist ideas was confirmed by him at the Leipzig trial, which he transformed into a trial against fascism.

Georgi Dimitrov is widely known as a great theoretician and organizer of the workers movement, as a Leninist figure who was infinitely devoted to the cause of proletarian internationalism.

We must note in particular that Georgi Dimitrov analyzed the historical role and significance of the Soviet Union and of the revolutionary-transforming role of the CPSU for the international communist and workers movement, for the cause of democracy and socialism, with exceptional thoroughness and erudition. Dimitrov constantly fought for the militant unity of the international, worldwide communist and workers movement, rallied around the CPSU, whose theory and practice are the greatest treasury of the worldwide revolutionary movement.

The Seventh Comintern Congress, at which Georgi Dimitrov read his famous report, played a basic role in the scientific synthesis of the revolutionary experience and in working out a new strategy and tactics of the communist parties.

Yumjaagiyn Molomjamts described the great assistance rendered by the Comintern, where Georgi Dimitrov worked as a leader, as regards the basic revolutionary transformation of Mongolia and as regards the creative application of Marxism-Leninism in solving the topical questions of non-capitalist development, for the contribution of the MPRP and the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] in implementing a program of struggle against fascism and capitalism.

In our days, Georgi Dimitrov's ideas preserve their strength and topical importance, the speaker pointed out. Under the conditions of an aggravated international situation, caused by the actions of the reactionary forces of imperialism, when the United States and its allies from the NATO member-countries are trying to disrupt the balance of forces in the world--and especially the military-strategic balance of forces in Europe--to the advantage of imperialism, by trying to obtain military superiority; when the Reagan administration is overtly proclaiming the preparation of war as its basic policy, the role of international solidarity is being further enhanced and the unity of action of all peace-loving anti-imperialist forces is increasingly expanding.

A decisive role has been assigned to the worldwide communist movement in rallying all revolutionary, anti-imperialist and progressive forces of our time in a united front of struggle, in working out a joint platform of action against imperialism. In this context we must point out the erroneous stands of those who are denying the historical role and international importance of real socialism, who are trying to reject Marxism-Leninism as a uniform international theory, who are distorting the peace-loving character of Soviet policy and the policy of the other socialist community member-countries.

Georgi Dimitrov's appeal to communists from all countries and to the international workers class, to all progressive forces, to render comprehensive assistance to the peace-loving Leninist foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state is resounding with new force today. All people of good will throughout the world reacted with great joy and with the feeling of universal gratification at Comrade Leonid Brezhnev's message to the second special UN session on disarmament. The new declaration of the Soviet Union to assume the one-sided commitment not to be the first have recourse to nuclear weapons, once more convincingly shows the Soviet Union's unrelenting concern for the preservation of peace and universal security on our planet. The MPRP as well as the other fraternal parties, along with the entire progressive worldwide public, actively declares itself in favor and support of the Soviet peace program for the eighties adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress.

We resolutely denounce the hegemonist policy of the present-day Chinese leaders, which is drawing closer to the aggressive policy of imperialism.

The MPR submitted a proposal to sign a convention on mutual nonaggression and nonuse of force in relations among states in Asia and the Pacific Zone.

It is particularly gratifying for us to note that relations of truly fraternal friendship and close cooperation have been established between the MPRP and the BCP, relations which were founded by Georgi Dimitrov and Vasil Kolarov.

We are deeply satisfied with the successful development of friendly relations between the MPRP and the BCP, which is solidly based on the Bulgarian-Mongolian friendship and cooperation treaty signed in 1967 between Yu. Tsedenbal and T. Zhivkov.

Expressing our deepest respect for Georgi Dimitrov, the indomitable fighter, the proletarian revolutionary and consistent internationalist, the communists and working people in our country express their feelings of solid friendship and unity with the fraternal Bulgarian people and with their communist party. They express their solidarity with all detachments of the communist and workers movement, and with the revolutionary and progressive forces throughout the world, the speaker stated in closing his address.

Romania's Popescu Speaks

AU241436 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Jun 82 p 7

[Report on speech by Dimitur Popescu, member of the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee, at International Ideological Conference in Sofia marking the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth on 16 June 1982]

[Text] The RCP and the working people in our country respect Georgi Dimitrov as one of the Bulgarian people's greatest sons, who since his early youth participated in the revolutionary activities of the workers class and of the Bulgarian people, who joined the communist movement and led the BCP in heroic struggles for the freedom of the nation, for overthrowing the regime of exploitation and for the victory of socialist revolution, as well as for the revolutionary, socialist transformation of Bulgaria.

Our party and people appreciate Georgi Dimitrov as an outstanding and courageous fighter against fascism and war, as an eminent figure of the revolutionary, proletarian struggle in our century.

We, the Romanians, feel particularly closely related to Georgi Dimitrov because we highly appreciate his remarkable contribution to the consolidation and development of friendship between our two parties and states.

We are fully justified in stating today that relations between Romania and Bulgaria represent a model for absolutely new relations between two socialist neighborly and friendly countries, which are cooperating with each other, which are assisting each other in full equality and on the basis of mutual respect, in the accelerated development of their socioeconomic progress and in implementing the noble ideals of socialism and communism.

Our party has adopted the approach to the problems of building the new system in the spirit of the general laws of socialism, in conformity with the existing conditions of reality, in conformity with the specific national peculiarities

of our country. Naturally, in the construction of a new society, contradictions, difficulties and shortcomings, even mistakes are likely to arise. In this connection we think that the tendency to neglect the existing contradictions under socialism is as harmful as the opposite tendency to entirely reject socialism and question its resources, as well as its capacity of self-perfection, whenever difficulties arise.

At the present stage of development our party is focusing its attention upon the constant perfection of scientific organization and of social management. We are basing ourselves on the consideration of principle that the state is not an owner of property, but that it has the task to assume the management of the socialist nationwide property. In this context we are steadily strengthening the system of workers self-management, as well as the system of economic cost accounting, as well as a broad organizational system of collective democratic management of all sectors of work.

While we are devoting our efforts to enhancing the leading political role of our party, this party is struggling, together with the masses, for the implementation of the people's vital interests and aspirations.

The present international situation is characterized by great tension. Two totally opposite trends are facing each other in the world: on the one hand, there is the imperialist policy of strength and "dictat" aimed at the preservation and distribution of zones of influence, aimed at exacerbating the arms race; on the other hand, there is the people's will and the will of the progressive forces to conduct a policy of equal rights and of mutual respect among nations, a policy of cooperation and peace. The old balance of forces, established after World War II no longer corresponds to the new international reality. New groups of states and states, many of which were still colonies a short time ago, now quite justifiably demand that they should play a greater role in world politics, they demand to express their opinion independently. The balance based on military blocs no longer corresponds to the present historical reality, the trend to creating a new balance based on changing the centers of strength is now strongly prevailing. The worldwide economic crisis, the policy of discrimination, unjustified sanctions and artificial barriers established by certain capitalist states and applied by them are causing heavy disturbances in cooperation and international trade.

Taking into consideration the fact that the main problem of international life is to stop the arms race and to eliminate the danger of war, Romania declares itself in favor of disarmament, and of nuclear disarmament above all. We declare ourselves in favor of banning the deployment of new missiles in Europe and of withdrawing the already existing ones.

We declare ourselves resolutely in favor of stopping any military conflicts and controversies in order to resolve problems existing among states along peaceful lines only, through negotiations and by observing the independence of each nation.

We think that the liquidation of backwardness and the construction of a new economic and political order is an important and urgent demand of our days as well.

Under the present international circumstances the solidarity of communist and workers parties, based upon the principles of fully equal rights and respect for the independence of each party, for the independent development of each party's political line in accordance with the conditions really existing in the respective country, represents an essential factor for the victory of the struggle for peace and social progress.

Naturally, the transition of one or the other nation along the path of socialism is implemented in the spirit of the principles of scientific socialism in accordance with social reality as it exists and with the specific national characteristic features of each country. We think, however, that socialism in one country should not be compared with socialism in other countries and that the search for new methods of revolutionary changes in society should not be compared with the hitherto achieved experience in building the new system.

Our party devotes constant efforts to the consolidation of cooperation among communists, socialists and social democrats, we are expanding vast cooperation and solidarity with the countries that have freed themselves of imperialist domination, with the national liberation movements and with the progressive forces throughout the world. With their united struggle the peoples are capable of making it possible to ban the arms race and establish peace and international security.

The theoretical conference devoted to the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth is a good opportunity to confirm the ideas of creative scientific socialism, to implement the principled exchange of opinions among participating parties and organizations and to strengthen their unity in the struggle for freedom, socialism, national independence and peace.

Afghanistan's Ziray Speaks

AU241652 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Jun 82 p 4

[Speech by Saleh Mohammad Ziray, member of the Politburo and secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) Central Committee, at the International Ideological Conference in Sofia marking the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth, on 16 June 1982]

[Text] Permit me, on behalf of the PDPA Central Committee and on behalf of all militant members of our party, to convey comradely greetings to the BCP, the organizer of this great international conference devoted to "the cause of Georgi Dimitrov and our times," as well as greetings to all communist and workers parties, national liberation movements, and to all friends who are participating in this conference.

The comprehensive practical experience of worldwide development in the present era shows that the creation of a united front against fascism and imperialist war, a front of struggle for national and democratic revolutions, as well as the organization and orientation of all democratic and progressive forces in

the struggle against the common enemy, is a question of great importance. At the same time, the broad theoretical and practical activities of Georgi Dimitrov, the great fighter for the freedom of the workers class and of all working people in Bulgaria, and outstanding leader of the international communist and workers movement, is of tremendous historical significance.

Georgi Dimitrov creatively developed the idea of a united front under specific historical conditions, an idea the correctness of which was fully confirmed by life.

Our own experience, despite the fact that from the historical point of view--and more specifically in connection with establishing a working people's government--it is not so rich, brilliantly confirms the correctness of this great cause represented by Georgi Dimitrov. The national fatherland front of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [DRA] since its very beginning until today has confirmed this truth--such a front is a basic prerequisite in the development of our society toward truly socialist justice.

Relying on the great experience of the worldwide communist and workers movement, on the experience of the CPSU and the national liberation movement, as well as on the specific experience of the Afghan peoples' struggle, the PDPA is deeply convinced that only by uniting all national and patriotic forces and only in alliance and cooperation with the entire anti-imperialist camp--in particular with the forces of peace and socialism headed by the USSR--is it possible to achieve the goals of our revolution.

The victory of a new and higher stage in our practical revolutionary experience raises the question of the establishment of the national fatherland front in the DRA. The national fatherland front is a social and mass organization in our country, and it is the basis of the DRA Government.

At the present stage of our society's development, the construction of the national fatherland front in the DRA is one of the greatest achievements of our national-democratic revolution. This front was established at the initiative of and under the leadership of the PDPA. It joined together for the first time all patriotic national and progressive forces in the country under a national banner for defending the dignity, the armed aggression and intervention of international imperialism--headed by the United States--Chinese hegemonism and the local reactionaries. It united them in building a new society.

Despite the fact that the aggressive strategy of international imperialism and reaction disgracefully collapsed, these forces have not been definitely defeated. We are fully aware of the truth that the bright future of our country to a great extent depends upon the unity of all working people in our society who are participating in the struggle to destroy counterrevolution and to liquidate the undeclared war which was forced upon us by imperialism and reaction. This is one of the chief tasks which the national fatherland front in the DRA, in organizing all national and democratic forces, must play its worthy role in implementing.

By expanding its influence over all society, the national fatherland front in the DRA is extending its mass social basis of political power exercised by the working people. It is no coincidence that the enraged counter-revolution, with the immediate help and under the protection of international imperialism and reaction, with different methods of terror and sowing fear, is trying to destroy this political and social organization and to obstruct its activities. This is why the consolidation of the national fatherland front in the DRA is one of the chief tasks facing us.

The PDPA, which considers disarmament, detente and peace as one of the basic goals of its struggle, is implementing a peace-loving foreign policy in the most comprehensive and resolute manner. The PDPA declares itself in favor of a peaceful settlement of conflicts in our area, consistently working for cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist countries.

In taking an important place in our country's new political system, the national fatherland front is capable of playing an important role in the basic processes of revolutionary transformation of society, in mobilizing the efforts of all working people around the party, in elevating revolutionary consciousness and in mobilizing this consciousness, so as to improve the active efforts of the working people and their participation in the administration of the country and in social management.

Permit me, before I close this statement on the tremendous practical and theoretical importance of the DRA national fatherland front, as a mass and social basis of the working people's political power, to cite the meaningful words of Georgi Dimitrov, this outstanding leader of the international communist and workers movement: "Neither the workers class nor the peasants alone can save themselves from fascism and reaction, and they cannot ensure a democratic development of their country. They cannot create conditions under which the people take their destinies within their own hands, if they are alone. Only their indestructible, fraternal alliance makes it possible for them to break the chains of political and economic oppression, of spiritual and cultural obscurantism..." And I would like to quote as follows: "This alliance, precisely, is the main guarantee for the final implementation of the fatherland front program."

These meaningful words pronounced by Georgi Dimitrov are of great practical significance for the great cause of the struggle waged by the national fatherland front and the working people in the DRA.

Glory to the heroic son of the Bulgarian people, Georgi Dimitrov, the indefatigable fighter against fascism and war!

Glory to the continuer of Georgi Dimitrov's ideas and cause--the BCP Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the present-day builders of socialist Bulgaria!

SRV Delegate Greetings

AU241554 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Jun 82 p 4

[Report on speech by Vo Chi Cong, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party at the 15 June session of the Sofia International Theoretical Conference commemorating Dimitrov's 100th birthday]

[Text] For the Vietnamese communists and working people as well as for progressive mankind, Georgi Dimitrov has always been the ideal of proletarian selflessness and the honest and principled communist, as well as a symbol of the heroic spirit, unprecedented wisdom and revolutionary will of the communists to attack the class enemy. Dimitrov conducted a relentless struggle against the bourgeois ideology, against all kinds of rightist and "leftist" opportunism and against dogmatism and sectarianism, for the purity of Marxism-Leninism and in defense of the USSR--the first socialist state in the world, the hope, support and shining example in the liberation struggle of all working people throughout the world. In the spirit of pure proletarian internationalism, he used to stress that the attitude toward the USSR is a criterion of the internationalism and revolutionary spirit of the Marxist-Leninist parties and political figures. His heroic spirit at the Leipzig trial in 1933 is even today a shining example for the future generations of revolutionary fighters.

Boundlessly loyal to proletarian internationalism, Dimitrov was closely connected with the revolutionary movement in every country. A noted theoretician and, simultaneously, a prominent practical figure of the world communist and workers' movement, especially as secretary general of the Comintern executive committee, Dimitrov constantly guided and inspired the revolutionary movement in all countries for the correct and comprehensive implementation of its international duty to the world revolution.

Dimitrov was the bright banner uniting all revolutionary and progressive forces, as well as the democratic and peace-loving people everywhere--regardless of whether they belonged to an imperialist, colonial or independent country--in a united front, based on a strong union of workers and peasants, who directed their efforts to attacking the common enemy of mankind--fascism. To this day, Dimitrov's postulates on the united front have preserved their topicality and original meaning for us in our struggle against warmongering imperialism and international reaction.

Almost 40 years have passed since the victory in the antifascist struggle. Many changes have taken place in the world since then.

The USSR has become the most powerful socialist country with developed and modern industry, highly mechanized agriculture, developed science and technology and powerful defense, and in many areas of life occupies first place in the world. Having revealed the road toward socialism, today the USSR is revealing the road toward communism.

The other fraternal socialist countries achieved great successes in the construction of socialism. Many of them are successfully constructing the developed socialist society.

The national liberation movement has powerfully developed in all its dimensions and is directing a powerful blow against the last resort of colonialism. After the victory of the national-democratic revolution, many countries select the road toward socialism, skipping the stage of capitalist development.

The struggle of the workers' class in the capitalist countries for democratic and social rights and against monopolistic capital is developing on a great scale and adopting rich forms.

The general picture of world development during the last decades eloquently testifies to the great vitality of socialism. Dimitrov's conclusions on the fact that the entire process of historical development is acting to the advantage of the workers' class proved correct. The efforts of fascists of all kinds and the entire world bourgeoisie to turn the wheel of history back are futile.

The name and cause of Georgi Dimitrov are closely related with the communists, the workers' class and the people of Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh used to say that the great name of Dimitrov is as close to the Vietnamese people as it is to the Bulgarian people. It has always been a symbol of struggle against capitalism and fascism, and a symbol of loyalty toward the eternal principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Today our country is living in peace, but simultaneously has to oppose the Chinese hegemonists and expansionists who have allied with U.S. imperialism, and has to be ready to react against the hostile designs and actions which could develop into aggression on a large scale. Therefore, at the new revolutionary stage, our entire party, people and army must implement two strategic tasks: to successfully construct socialism, and maintain our combat readiness, loyal defender of our motherland--socialist Vietnam. This is a noble mission which the present Vietnamese generation has to fulfill.

While implementing these tasks, our party found valuable lessons in Dimitrov's life.

Like Marx and Engels, Georgi Dimitrov belongs to all progressive mankind. The Bulgarian people can justifiably be proud of their great son, Georgi Dimitrov, who dedicated his entire life to Bulgaria and the international communist and workers' movement.

Marching along the road of Georgi Dimitrov, under the leadership of the glorious BCP led by the esteemed Comrade Todor Zhivkov, the fraternal Bulgarian people are loyally implementing Dimitrov's legacy on "achieving

in 15-20 years what other countries in other conditions achieved in centuries." We sincerely wish the Bulgarian people, under the BCP leadership, new and even greater successes in implementing the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress on reaching new peaks in building developed socialism and turning Bulgaria into a prosperous country with happy people.

In his political report at the fifth congress of our party, Comrade Le Duan stressed that relations and comprehensive cooperation with the USSR and the countries of the socialist community are a "principle, strategy and, simultaneously, a revolutionary feeling." Our party and state aim at educating the generations in Vietnam to adhere to this strategy and turn it into a powerful moving force toward the complete victory of our revolutionary cause. In this spirit, we are confident that the close solidarity and cooperation of the Vietnamese people and party with the BCP and the Bulgarian people, whose basis was founded by Georgi Dimitrov and Ho Chi Minh, will remain eternal and powerful.

Italian Delegate Speaks

AU271455 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Jun 82 p 8

[Speech by Renato Zanghieri, member of the PCI Directorate and mayor of Bologna, at the International Ideological Conference marking Dimitrov's birth centenary in Sofia 16 June]

[Text] Today the world is involved in a difficult struggle against aggression and the threats of aggression as well as against the nuclear threat, and for peace. Therefore, it would be of great interest to [word indistinct] those moments of tension and struggle for peace which the Communist International survived in the thirties and also the role which Dimitrov and Palmiro Togliatti played at that time. Compared with those years, the present conditions have, of course, deeply changed. This is to be found in the nature of war itself which today has become a war of nuclear annihilation, in the breakdown of the balance of powers and also in the qualitative nature of the peace movement. That is why this experience for you is more an historic one rather than a source for lessons and direct political instructions.

The cooperation and understanding between Dimitrov and Togliatti were particularly close during the seventh congress, during the period of the turning point which was imposed on the line of the international at that time. As is known, Togliatti was assigned to prepare a report on "the preparation for a new world war by the imperialists and the tasks of the communists international." He actively participated in preparing for the congress and afterwards in implementing its directives. Dimitrov dwelt in his report to the congress and afterward on the problems of peace. At that time the Communist International was primarily analyzing the threat of war and the threats directed toward the Soviet Union from the Nazi government.

The overwhelming thesis of the congress was to seek more extensive and flexible relations primarily with the socialist parties. The war was approaching rapidly, and fascism was also spreading to other European countries in addition to Italy and Germany. The Japanese aggression in the Far East had also begun. It was necessary to define the framework of a new struggle--a new orientation toward mobilizing the masses according to possibilities.

The most reactionary variety of fascism was the German one. German fascism was "the main warmonger of the imperialistic war" and "the instigator of the crusade against the Soviet Union."

I repeat that Togliatti was responsible for launching this thesis within the framework of the general formulation given by Dimitrov. "In each country," he said, "the most reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie become oriented toward war. These elements consider war as the best means, and in certain cases the only means, for coming out of the difficulties created by circles." In contrast, the USSR "has stabilized itself not only in its domestic affairs but also in its international relations." It is "the only stable, firm and reliable force which is in a position to be a mainstay of a policy for the defense of peace."

At this point, one should pose the question: Is it possible to avoid war? Capitalist society cannot produce anything else but war. However, "the struggle for peace is not a desperate struggle." Relying on the strength of the Soviet Union, "this struggle has all the chances for success." This new and unknown assertion appears repeatedly in the Togliatti report. There are some shades, however: "to defend peace," Togliatti said, "as much as possible." He further said: "Nobody can foresee and we cannot foresee how long our struggle for peace will continue. Perhaps a year, perhaps more or perhaps a few months." Incertitude lives along with certitude.

I make no exception of the possibility that some of these formulations perhaps show certain waverings, but it seems to me that the new feeling and assertion that war could be avoided--included in the reports by Dimitrov and Togliatti--are indisputable. This was a basically new element which was not involved in the extensive theoretical foundation which was later formulated in a mature manner by the 20th CPSU Congress.

On the other hand, if there were any waverings and question marks about the true possibility of avoiding conflict. They found an explanation--and I do not say an excuse--in the particularly dangerous international situation in 1935. The war was approaching while it had already begun in some other parts of the world regardless of the positive results achieved in some countries such as France and Great Britain, the mobilization of the forces of peace was still insufficient. Dimitrov stated that sectarianism in the workers' movement was no longer a childhood disease but often took the form of a deep chronic disease. Apparently the Communist International, after a long period of isolation and of really underestimating this danger, understood this only too late. We must also point out that the publication

of this postulate had obviously not been followed by appropriately expanding the relations with other workers' parties and the Catholic masses. In addition, the reverberation of some of Stalin's mistakes had surely harmed the search for contacts and understanding with significant groups of the world public, and simultaneously, the Comintern itself had been infiltrated by some nondemocratic elements.

All this, however, as (Georgio Amendola) writes, does not deprive the decisions of the seventh congress of their "liberating effectiveness." The very linking of the Soviet peace policy with the defense of the USSR proclaimed at the seventh congress, which some people wanted to present and condemn as a manifestation of "Stalinism," was due to the world situation when the USSR was encircled and threatened by fascism. It is true that war was not averted but the seventh congress gave an impetus to a new policy of the communist parties which was of primary importance for the victory of the antifascist coalition.

I mentioned in the beginning of my speech that the struggle for peace today is being waged in profoundly different conditions and that it would be antihistorical to apply the theses and formulations of the seventh congress to our time. However, the lessons of our capability to keep up to date, to take into account realistic conditions, to liquidate dogmatic and sectarian remnants and to open the road toward bringing communist parties closer together with the worker's and peace-loving forces still exist. These are lessons that are constantly valid.

PCP's Alvaro Cunhal Address

AU271436 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 17 Jun 82 p 5

[Report on speech by Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Communist Party of Portugal, at the 16 June session of the Sofia International Theoretical Conference commemorating Dimitrov's 100th birthday]

[Text] The Marxist-Leninist heritage of Georgi Dimitrov includes principles, experience and lessons which continue to be valid today. It also includes his great example of creativity in the areas of theory and tactics on the basis of analyzing new facts and phenomena of his time.

Many comrades who spoke here stressed Georgi Dimitrov's role in the struggle for peace.

The problem of war and peace was then, as today, a central problem of the peoples. The struggle for preserving peace and against the arms race, the production of the neutron bomb, and the deployment of new U.S. missiles in Europe is an urgent task of the peoples, and a task of all mankind.

It is unacceptable to place the aggressive and militarist policy of North American imperialism, and the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries on the same scale, as some people do.

In Portugal the struggle for peace takes place through mass events aiming at goals common to all peoples. The immediate toppling of the present reactionary government, conducting elections and forming a government which would adopt a policy in defense of democracy and its achievements, and friendship and cooperation with all peoples throughout the world, is the central and basic goal of the Portuguese peoples struggle.

Georgi Dimitrov defended and developed the basic idea on the vanguard role of the workers' class in the struggle against capitalism and in constructing socialism, and on the need for unity ensuing from this struggle.

This idea always inspired our party's struggle during the time of the fascist dictatorship and after the April 1974 revolution.

Further on, Comrade Alvaro Cunhal dwelled in detail on the present situation in Portugal and the struggle of the Communist Party of Portugal.

Years ago, he said, there were people who predicted the weakening of the party and the deterioration of its basis and influence, despite its decisive contribution to the great democratic transformations of the Portuguese revolution, our convincing consolidation as Marxist-Leninists and our loyalty to proletarian internationalism.

Precisely the opposite took place. There is no other party in Portugal with such influence among the masses and ability to mobilize them. There is no other party with similar growth. Some 3 months after the April 1974 revolution, there were 15,000 party members. Today there are almost 290,000 party members, without counting the 35,000 young communists.

He said further: Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism are not only banners. They are the basic factors of our power, unity and influence among the masses. Georgi Dimitrov stressed insistently the decisive importance for the peoples' liberation struggle of the October Revolution and the construction of socialism in the USSR, and subsequently the obligatory need for solidarity with the first state of the workers and peasants.

The world situation has radically changed, but Dimitrov's basic evaluation continues to be valid. The USSR and the other socialist countries continue to be for all revolutionaries, and for all those who aspire to man's equality, not only a firm support of peace and the working people's struggle, but also an inspiring example in constructing the new society.

By this we do not mean copying and imitating. There are no "models" of socialism. We only mean the need to learn from the inexhaustibly rich source of experience and lessons which the process of socialist and communist construction provides. On the other hand, we also mean that all revolutionary forces are obliged to maintain solidarity with the USSR and the other socialist countries, precisely as the USSR and the other socialist countries maintain their solidarity with the other revolutionary forces. The world situation imposes strengthening friendship and cooperation among all revolutionary forces--the socialist countries, the workers' movement in the capitalist countries, the national-liberation movement and the progressive countries. The communist solidarity stressed by Dimitrov was based on proletarian internationalism. Mutual solidarity is the basic principle of proletarian internationalism.

Georgi Dimitrov was a tireless fighter for the unity of the international communist movement. Naturally, today the problem is posed differently than 40 years ago. Reviving a "leading center" or some "leading party" is not on the agenda. However, the task faced by all communists throughout the world is to strengthen friendship and cooperation among the communist and workers' parties on bilateral, multilateral, regional and world bases.

We share the opinion of those comrades who maintained that it is inexplicable in today's world, when the forces of reaction and social-democracy are increasing their organizational structures and strengthening their international cooperation, that the communist parties do not have stable, albeit limited to only some areas and problems, forms of cooperation. On our part, we are ready to participate in exploring the possibilities for this, while preserving our determination and making efforts to realize these possibilities.

We have gathered to celebrate the 100th birthday of Georgi Dimitrov and pay respects to the political genius and heroism of the great revolutionary, patriot and internationalist; to his valuable theoretical contribution to the struggle, as well as to the moral and educational value of his example. We must not forget, however, that the greatness of the revolutionaries was not only a result of their individual qualities, but also a result of the fact that they knew how to learn from the experience of the workers' class and the masses, analyze the political ideas of their era and learn the lessons of the revolutionary forces.

By paying tribute to Georgi Dimitrov, we are also paying tribute to the BCP and its secretary general Comrade Todor Zhivkov, its Central Committee, its members, the Bulgarian workers' class and the Bulgarian people, greeting them on the great successes reached in building the socialist society, and conveying the warm and fighting greetings of the Communist Party of Portugal.

'HORIZONT' Carries Axen Speech

AU301224 East Berlin HORIZONT in German No 26, 1982 pp 8-9

["Excerpts" from an address by Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, at the international theoretical conference on the centennial of the birth of Georgi Dimitrov in Sofia on 15 June]

[Text] The delegation of the SED Central Committee is happy about this opportunity to celebrate Georgi Dimitrov's birth centennial together with you, dear Bulgarian comrades, and with the authoritative representatives of parties and movements belonging to the three main revolutionary currents. We are glad to celebrate this truly international festive occasion in Georgi Dimitrov's socialist motherland, in the prosperous People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Inspired by deep gratitude for the achievements of this great leader of the Bulgarian and of the international workers movement, our delegation conveys the fraternal greetings of the SED Central Committee and of

Comrade Erich Honecker, our party's secretary general, to Dimitrov's party and people. We greet the delegations of the fraternal parties from all countries, whose participation in this conference once more demonstrates that the international communist movement is the most influential political force of our era.

I

On Georgi Dimitrov's Contribution to History

Together with the communist and workers parties we pay tribute to Georgi Dimitrov as one of the greatest leaders of the Bulgarian and international workers movement. The most extraordinary virtues and talents developed in the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat manifested themselves and merged in Dimitrov's deeds and ideas.

The unity of theory and practice was one of Dimitrov's most characteristic features and manifested itself throughout his remarkable achievements at the service of the entire international communist movement. During the trial following the Reichstag fire, Dimitrov, whose life was threatened by the fascist barbarians, not only set a brilliant example as a heroic fighter of the workers' class, but also lit the torch of worldwide antifascist resistance. His closing speech to the Supreme Court of the German Reich in Leipzig became an enthusiastic plea for communism and developed into an inspiring accusation against the brownshirt arsonists, but above all, into a powerful appeal which caused the great movement of the struggle against war and fascism in the entirety of peace-loving, progressive mankind. While Georgi Dimitrov raised the great banner of antifascism and socialist humanitarianism at the Leipzig trial, he provided the workers class and peoples throughout the world with the political and theoretical tools for the struggle against imperialism, fascism and war during his outstanding work as secretary general of the Communist International.

At the seventh Comintern Congress Comrade Dimitrov, in further developing Lenin's theories and the experience of the communist parties as regards the united front under the newly created historical conditions, established that courageous policy of a united national front which inaugurated the new stage in the development of the people's social and national liberation struggles.

This strategic line of the antifascist, united and people's front has been brilliantly confirmed by historical practical experience and is still valid in principal in our present conditions.

The establishment of a worldwide socialist system confirmed Dimitrov's great theoretical forecasts at the seventh Comintern Congress, according to which the struggle for an antifascist national front could contribute to the development of a new type of democratic republics, to the development of antifascist, anti-imperialist republics likely to make a new form of revolutionary transition to socialism possible.

Thus, the BCP, under Georgi Dimitrov's leadership, used the opportunity of the defeat of the fascist aggressor by the glorious Soviet Army in September 1944, for a victorious people's uprising and for the beginning of socialist revolution in Bulgaria. It was precisely Comrade Georgi Dimitrov who worked out the theoretical tenets on the essence and form of a people's democracy as a form of proletarian dictatorship on the basis of this newly acquired experience in revolutionary practice.

II

Important Lessons Taught by Georgi Dimitrov About the Peace Struggle

We are acting entirely in Dimitrov's spirit when we use his great experiences as instruction in the struggle to solve the urgent tasks of our time, above all, the most important one--the securing of peace.

The world has changed fundamentally since the time of Georgi Dimitrov's famous speech at the seventh Comintern Congress. The international balance of forces has radically shifted to the advantage of socialism and to the advantage of the cause of peace and national liberation.

The countries belonging to the developed socialist system are entering a higher stage of social development. The intensive development of the economy is of strategic importance for historical progress toward the goals of the new social system and in the new class struggle against imperialism.

The national liberation movement, despite numerous obstacles, is advancing vigorously. Georgi Dimitrov's tenets on the people's democracy are being increasingly and creatively applied by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their national democratic revolution and, relying on these tenets, the aforementioned countries are choosing the path of socialist development.

The imperialist states, on the other hand, are involved in a new stage of the universal crisis of capitalism, which is characterized by a qualitative exacerbation of all internal and external contradictions of imperialism, and especially by the involvement of the general and cyclical crises. All this is linked to thorough, lasting changes and losses in the positions of imperialism in general and of the United States, in particular.

Being in a historically defensive position imperialism still cannot resign itself to this situation.

The ruling U.S. circles want to prevent at all costs their spheres of domination and influence from shrinking any further. Since President Reagan took office they have striven adventurously not only to allow no further losses, but also to recover lost ground. The U.S. leaders are rejecting peaceful coexistence and detente because they are overtly striving for world domination.

The U.S. administration and the governments of the other NATO member-countries are pursuing the following goals in this respect:

1. Forced intensive rearmament in order to achieve strategic, military superiority over the socialist countries and in order to subject the nationally liberated countries to blackmail, and if they should not succeed in this, to make a military confrontation with real socialism--which means a nuclear war--feasible and victorious for the United States.

The deployment of new U.S. medium-range and cruise missiles in Western Europe, planned for 1983, is aimed at implementing a capacity for a first strike against the Warsaw Pact member-countries and is intended to shift the military-strategic balance and to protect the U.S. territory from retaliatory strikes.

The peace-loving policy of socialism and the peoples' peace struggle have forced the United States to begin negotiations on medium-range missiles and on strategic weapons, as well. However, the proposals the White House has submitted to date clearly reveal the intention to impede efficient international negotiations on the limitation of armaments and on disarmament, to protract such negotiations and to burden them with unacceptable preliminary conditions, and also the intention to take advantage of such conditions in order to accelerate the arms race in the meantime.

2. The CEMA member-countries are supposed to be weakened by a political-ideological diversion and a trade war. As the recent summit meeting of the imperialist powers in Versailles revealed, this diversion includes embargo measures, as well as differentiation tactics and the purposeful exploitation of economic development problems in individual countries. Last, but not least, one of the purposes of the arms race is to hinder the countries of the socialist community in the implementation of the policy aimed at their chief task, and thus, to undermine the international force of attraction of real socialism.

As Erich Honecker, secretary general of the SED Central Committee, recently pointed out, the dangers of unpredictable actions on part of the aggressive, imperialist powers are increasing. He mentioned at the same time the importance of the worldwide peace movement, which contains all the elements necessary to curb the dangers threatening world peace represented by the aggressive circles of imperialism and to cooperate with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states in this respect.

In view of the present confrontation with the policy of United States the experience of the communist world movement and of Georgi Dimitrov are particularly topical. Georgi Dimitrov was guided by the principle that it is not sufficient to wish for peace. "We must struggle for peace," he wrote, and he added: "It is quite insufficient merely to conduct propaganda against war in general terms." (Georgi Dimitrov: "The united front of peace struggle," from Dimitrov's Collected Works, Volume 2, Sofia 1976, page 150)

Dimitrov was trying to join together all democratic and anti-imperialist forces in a vast peace front. He pointed out the connections between the struggle for peace and the revolutionary struggle of the workers class. The decisions of the seventh Comintern Congress and the conclusions of the Comintern Executive Committee headed by Georgi Dimitrov on the eve of and during World War II were aimed at a uniform international policy of the workers class, aimed at the preservation of peace, at the establishment of an international front of the peoples' struggle against fascist aggressors and at universal support for the Soviet Union's peace policy.

Dimitrov's ideas on the broad alliance, on the avoidance of any limitedness in the peace struggle, on the broadest possible cooperation of all peace-loving forces against the peoples' greatest enemy, against the aggressive and adventurous policy of imperialism--all these ideas are more topical than ever in this nuclear era.

The present, enormous upsurge of the international peace movement and the active work of the people's forces are expressions of the tremendously increasing concern of people of all classes, strata and continents.

III

Real Socialism--The Main Pillar of the Peace Movement

In all his work Georgi Dimitrov relied upon the relationship of peace and socialism. He was profoundly convinced that the relationship of peace and socialism was also deeply related to the October Revolution and to the existence of a socialist Soviet Union and that this was an entirely new situation for the workers class throughout the world. The construction of the first socialist society and its protection was now one of the most important duties in securing peace and progress. That is why Georgi Dimitrov consistently assumed the task of making the workers class in all countries aware of the fact that the peace policy of the first socialist state was closely related to the newly established relationship between peace and socialism.

Dimitrov always confronted the imperialist slanders against the Soviet Union with the Leninist truth that peace is the more secure, the more powerful socialism becomes. "Under the present circumstances of the international situation," he wrote in 1937, "there is no and there can be no reliable criterion than the attitude toward the Soviet Union in order to ascertain who is a friend and who is an enemy of the workers class and of socialism, in order to establish who is a supporter and who is an opponent of peace and democracy.... One cannot seriously struggle against the fascist arsonists of a new world conflagration if one does not wholeheartedly support the USSR, this important factor in the preservation of universal peace." (Georgi Dimitrov: "The Soviet Union and the Workers Class in Capitalist Countries," Moscow, 1937 p 14)

In discussing precisely this crucial problem, Georgi Dimitrov and Ernst Thaelmann demonstrated their full unanimity of views. Loyal to this basic principle of proletarian internationalism, we are conducting a persevering struggle side by side with the first socialist state of the world.

Today it is clearer than ever how much the international workers class and how much all mankind owe the Soviet Union, which devotes all its efforts to the securing of peace in the world. In his work Dimitrov confirmed one of the basic truths of our time, namely that the successes of real socialism in the past and today are a source of strength for the workers class and for all peace-loving mankind, a source which strengthens their confidence in their own strength and in their capacity to eradicate the roots of war.

The SED and our socialist GDR fully support the peace program of the 26th CPSU Congress and the most recent peace initiatives adopted by Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev. These initiatives represent a solid and constructive basis for specific disarmament measures and for a consolidation of the world situation. They reassure peace-loving mankind that it is not helpless in facing the imperialist danger of war.

The increased political, military and economic power of the Soviet Union and of the entire socialist community represents a factor of decisive importance in worldwide politics today. It is, above all, due to the power and consistent peace policy of the USSR that a Third World has so far been avoided and that Europe has been enjoying the longest peace period in its history.

The Soviet Union is the strongest mainstay of peace, because it is also the most progressive society in the world. This great truth which Georgi Dimitrov proclaimed with such passionate strength of conviction in front of the fascist henchmen at the Reichstag fire trial has been confirmed a thousand times by the pace and acceleration of social progress and of developed socialism in the USSR.

Comrade Erich Honecker described this logical consistency of facts in the following words:

"In facing what takes place in the capitalist world today, we are filled with great satisfaction at the consolidation of worldwide socialism, at the expansion of its advantages and values. We are fully justified in asserting that on the eve of the 65th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and in the 33d year of the GDR's existence the following facts are true: socialism started on its victorious progress with the advent of the power of workers and peasants in 1917, despite all obstacles and difficulties, and this progress continues relentlessly. Within the span of a brief historical period socialism has accomplished infinitely more for the interests of man, for peace, for employment, for bread, for culture and education, for justice and freedom, for democracy and humanitarianism--much more--than any other social system of the past."

IV

Georgi Dimitrov--Comrade in Arms and Friend of the German Communists

Georgi Dimitrov made a great contribution to the history of close relations between the German and Bulgarian communists. As early as since the beginning of the 20th century he was linked to the movement of the German workers. Since the military fascist regime in Bulgaria forced him to leave the country in 1923, Dimitrov lived abroad until the liberation of Bulgaria, spending many years in Germany as well. From 1929 through 1933 he was the head of the West European Bureau of the Comintern Executive Committee and lived in Berlin.

During this stay in Berlin the fraternal relations between Georgi Dimitrov and the German Communist Party expanded and strengthened and so did his personal relations with Ernst Thaelmann, Wilhelm Pieck, and other workers' leaders. Dimitrov drew important and extensive conclusions from the work of the German Communist Party and from its confrontation with the offensive of the monopolies in the period of the worldwide economic crisis.

On the other hand, he contributed with important advice from his great experience to the struggle of the German Communist Party.

Georgi Dimitrov attentively followed the "antifascist action" conducted by Ernst Thaelmann and the German Communist Party, which was supposed to join together all antifascist forces in Germany in order to meet the threatening danger of fascism. However, the joint action of the workers' class, which was the only one capable of preventing the fascist dictatorship was confronted with the negative attitude of the rightwing Social Democratic Party and trade union leaders. The German Communist Party was forced into the underground. Ernst Thaelmann fell into the hands of the fascists. Only a few days later Georgi Dimitrov was also arrested on 9 March 1933 in Berlin.

The representatives of the German financial and capitalist circles, who with the Reichstag fire trial and the brutal persecution of the German Communist Party tried to legalize the physical destruction of the revolutionary and antifascist fighters and attempted to impede the progress of the forces of democracy and socialism in Europe, failed in their designs.

Georgi Dimitrov victoriously unmasked Hitler's fascism and this found a tremendous response throughout the world. This act of unmasking especially encouraged and inspired the communists and all other antifascists in Germany. During the Leipzig trial, not only the communists, but also the Social Democrats and the Christian working people felt how closely Georgi Dimitrov was linked with the German working people. Standing in the dock of a fascist court of justice, Dimitrov appealed to the German workers class to arise against this predatory, terrorist form of dictatorship, composed of the most reactionary elements of monopolist capitalism and to expand the united front of the workers class beyond the limits of workers alliance by establishing a broad, antifascist front.

As a member of the Comintern Executive Committee Presidium, Georgi Dimitrov not only worked many years in close cooperation with the comrades Wilhelm Pieck and Wilhelm Florin, but he always paid the utmost attention to the struggle of the German Communist Party against fascism and war and actively supported this struggle. After the liberation of the peoples from fascism by the Soviet Union and with the beginning of the people's revolution in Bulgaria and on the territory of today's GDR, the militant partnership between Georgi Dimitrov and the SED leaders, which had been tested for many decades, took on a new form.

Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl visited new Bulgaria in 1948 and agreed on a program of political and economic cooperation which was gradually implemented throughout the years that followed and which constantly expanded. As Georgi Dimitrov stated during the consultations: "Development not only in Germany but throughout Europe will greatly depend upon the development in the Soviet zone of occupation.... The Soviet zone must be regarded as a new Germany and not as the remains of fascist Germany. A different, an entirely new approach must be established as regards this new Germany." The correctness of this forecast has been confirmed by historical developments. Under SED leadership those theories were implemented in the GDR as Wilhelm Pieck and Otto Grotewohl described in a letter to Georgi Dimitrov on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the Reichstag fire:

The roots of fascism have been eradicated once and for all in the GDR, while the united party of the workers class has developed, which is leading the GDR people in a strong alliance with the Soviet Union and with the fraternal socialist countries toward the construction of a developed socialist society.

The peaceful cooperation between the SED and the BCP has become a daily practical experience in all sectors today and the indestructible ties of friendship between the Bulgarian and the GDR peoples have expanded. Important enterprises in the GDR, collectives in industry and agriculture are named after Georgi Dimitrov. School children and pioneers organizations are jointly studying his life and analyzing the effect of his working achievements, and are learning from him as an example of communist and revolutionary virtues.

On 18 June, on the occasion of Georgi Dimitrov's birth centennial, a new exhibition opened in the Leipzig museum which was dedicated to his memory. This exhibition will contribute to the propagation of Dimitrov's experience and of the lessons taught by his struggles.

As Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee secretary general declared during his visit to Georgi Dimitrov's native land: "The close friendship and unity of action of our parties represent the basis of our past and a guarantee for our future successes. This is how.... We have fulfilled and are implementing the indestructible legacy of our unforgettable internationalists--Ernst Thaelmann and Georgi Dimitrov--the great leaders of the Bulgarian and German workers movements." We are loyal to this legacy, in promoting a developed socialist society in our country, the GDR. We are fulfilling this legacy by further consolidating the unity of the worldwide communist movement and the alliance of our socialist countries, united around the Soviet Union. We are acting in the spirit of this legacy, if we do everything within our power to guarantee peace.

RELIGIOUS OPPRESSION, RESISTANCE CITED

Persecution of Priests

Munich BAYERNKURIER in German 5 Jun 82 p 13

[Unattributed article: "KGB Versus Priests"]

[Text] According to information from a reliable source in Prague, confirmed by others in the provinces, the KGB is presently extending "fraternal assistance" in combating the so-called "underground church" in the CSSR. It is said that special KGB units have been flown in whose task it is to ferret out clandestine religious groups. The sources say that the primary targets are secretly ordained priests.

Czechoslovak authorities have long been worried about the secret activities of Christians throughout the CSSR, which the state refers to as the "underground church." Special units have already been given training courses on "hating the faithful." Special agents have received training in uncovering religious groups among the student population. They have even been employing high-sensitivity listening devices installed in automobiles which are capable of monitoring conversations carried on inside buildings.

In this manner, Czechoslovak security forces have succeeded in seizing a number of underground printing plants producing religious literature. Both priests and laymen arrested in connection with these operations have been sentenced and are presently serving time in jail. Nonetheless, some religious magazines and leaflets are continuing to appear in the underground. The decree of the congregation for the clergy, too, which the Minister for Religious Affairs, Karel Hruza, outlawed because he felt it was directed against the party-line association of priests known as "Pacem in Terris," is making the rounds among the priesthood and the faithful and has, as our Prague source maintains, led to the resignation of priests from the movement. The obvious lack of success of the Czechoslovak security forces in their fight against the "underground church," the sources add, has now led to the call for support by specially trained units from Moscow.

Catholic Activists

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 5/6 Jun 82 p 9

[Article by Angelus Waldstein-Wartenberg: "A Hard-to-Control Church"]

[Text] There is an anecdote concerning a book entitled "A Night in Taize" which was not seized during a police search because it was assumed to be a love romance or detective story. On the other hand, there is a grotesque detective story that took place last fall in Moravia that might be entitled "A Night in Moravec" where a great number of police searched an old-age home for priests and parish housekeepers. The supposed object of their search were Polish refugees and a clandestine radio transmitter. The search really lasted from noon until late at night. A similar search was conducted at the same time in Kadan in northern Bohemia where nuns belonging to various orders—their average age being about 70—who are "concentrated" in a cloisters there received a going-over complete with watchdogs, search-lights on the rooftops and confiscation of a variety of innocuous private belongings including money which made the entire operation appear more like looting than anything else. All typewriters were seized—the building superintendent getting back his only after pleading for a long time. This made it clear what the purpose of the operation really was: to call a halt to the distribution of religious literature, which also includes mimeographed prayer texts such as the nuns were using in lieu of breviaries and prayer books.

Suspicious Mimeograph Machine

The wave of investigations also included parsonages and private apartments. Although in our country, we cannot imagine a priest without his mimeograph machine that in itself is a crime in Czechoslovakia because it is a possible way of "obstructing state authority over the religious denominations." Monsignor Hlozanka, for example, who used to minister to the former German congregation of Gastorf-on-the-Elbe, was arrested for this reason on 29 October 1981 and sentenced to 20 months in jail in his episcopal see of Litomerice.

The fact that more and more of the faithful are turning to self-help in order to obtain religious texts that are officially unavailable makes the security police uneasy but is not really surprising when one is told that the "satisfaction of religious needs" is subject to state planning. The officially sanctioned annual print run of CESKY KANCIONAL (which corresponds to the Catholic GOTTESLOB in German-speaking countries) is so small that the most urgent need can never be satisfied before the very first shipment has been sold out.

It is said that the "underground literature" thus far uncovered and confiscated already includes some 700 titles; the religious material thus available being of a varied nature, even including three magazines devoted to different groups of readers. One of the magazines, INFORMACE O CIRKVE, is a general information publication dealing with current events; then there is

one for young people called ZKRIZENI (or "Resurrection" and another for the priesthood. The magazines contain translations of appropriate theological writings from abroad along with expositions by Czechoslovak professors of theology (who are not permitted teach, of course) and even of younger researchers like Vaclav Benda (born in 1946) who was one of the first signers of Charta 77, who became one of its spokesmen in 1979 and was sentenced to 4 years in prison that same year. Furthermore, Vaclav Havel, the writer as well as Jiri Dienstbier and other "chartists."

The Slavic Pope

This new-style going-together of civil rights activists of different stripes, including Christians, is the result of developments that bear looking at more closely. It started with the breathing spell in the sixties which the church needed to survive after the Soviets marched into Prague and which lasted somewhat longer for the church because the Communist Party first had to be purged and brought into line again. It was not until 1973 that a new low was reached when four new bishops were installed half of whom took an at least dubious position and accordingly were classified as mere temporary "administrators" of their episcopates by the Vatican. This caused a crisis among the CSSR Catholics who are faithful to Rome, which was not overcome until hopes sprang up that a Slavic Pope from an East Bloc country would be named.

Atheist Propaganda

1977 started with a bang. In the aftermath of the Helsinki Final Act, the Charta appeared and was followed by a number of other documents such as the one bearing No 9 (in June of that year) which dealt with the situation of the Christians; others contained a number of "petitions" based on initiatives like those of 30 priests of the Church of the Bohemian Brethren (in May 1977) and a lay group from Kromeriz which listed 14 demands involving freedom of religion.

There were arrests and prison sentences. Earlier, Hruza had penned a lengthy article entitled "The Socialist State and Religion" which appeared in RUDE PRAVO on 23 February 1977. The article started out with a long discourse on all the funds being made available to the clergy and the upkeep of churches but then came right out and said how the constitutionally guaranteed right to freedom of worship is to be understood—as the exclusive right to atheist propaganda.

Not Noticed in Munich

After a lengthy tug-of-war between Rome and Prague, 1978 finally brought the creation of a Slovak diocese and the final appointment of Bishop Tomasek as head of the Prague diocese, whereby Rome succeeded in strengthening the "real" bishops somewhat. The further upgrading of the now Archbishop of Prague did lend to him and his utterances a bit more weight and more (undesired) resonance even if it did not increase his freedom to maneuver. Austrian President Kirchsclaeger visited him in 1978 and managed to extend

an invitation to him to come to Salzburg. Foreign Minister Genscher did likewise in 1980 but the cardinal's visit to Munich at the time of the Papal visit went almost unnoticed. In the following year, Alfred Dregger, went to Prague but it seemed more like going through the motions and by that time there were some in this country beginning to ask whether the church leader "up at the top" was a true representative of the Czechoslovak civil rights movement, if he could not arrange a breakfast with some dissidents—which of course he was unable to do.

The fact is that multifarious church activities had sprung up in the meantime which communist religious policies had involuntarily helped spawn. There was the Bratislava PRAVDA at the end of 1980 calling attention to the underground church by complaining bitterly about it and there have been repeated official demands directed to the Pope and the bishops of the CSSR simply to outlaw this uncontrollable church. And there is a large number of priests, not permitted to minister to their congregations, who act as natural and effective intermediaries between the above-ground and the underground clergy—who are not listed officially but do appear in the investigation reports of the secret police.

Hussite Tradition

It seems as though there are three no longer separable groups that are about to form a new Catholic Church in the CSSR—those of the faithful and the priesthood who are known and tolerated; those who are outlawed and those who are not known. All of them are subject to the same persecution for doing anything that is not permissible. Above all, this involves ministering to young people who ask for such ministry and thereby themselves run the risk of forfeiting a professional career.

A new element worth noting is the help that comes from neighboring Poland which acts as an encouragement and there also is the long overdue ecumenic dialogue which is very lively now that all the Christian denominations are in the same boat and that the domestic Church of the Brethren with its Hussite tradition is no longer treated more leniently (to say nothing of the previously vocal Czechoslovak National Church).

'Patriotic' Priests

The few seminarians admitted to the study of theology face a dilemma, if they want to reach their goal without having to relinquish it immediately thereafter. At the start of the winter semester 1980/81, the Bratislava seminarians went on strike protesting against the partonizing attitude of the "peace priests" who hewed the party line. The result was that both the administrative personnel and the faculty was recruited from among the ranks of these "peace priests." The 11 protesting students who were suspended for a year at the time have since been expelled.

The "patriotic, progressive and peace-loving" priests who are members of the "Pacem in Terris" association, on the other hand, enjoy all conceivable freedoms and privileges. Their obeisances toward the party and their behavior in general are tantamount to a denial of their ministry and even of their beliefs. It has repeatedly been said that anyone who attacks or criticizes them attacks the state and its foundations. These churchmen who are already compromised or are capable of being compromised are becoming increasingly isolated, however, particularly in view of a long hoped-for and at long last carefully taken step by the Vatican.

A letter from Rome addressed only to the church in Czechoslovakia does not stand to get much publicity. That is what happened when the Pope sent the cardinal in Prague a letter late last year which dealt with a specifically Bohemian-Franciscan jubilee. The 800th anniversary of the birth of St Francis coincides with the 700th anniversary of the death of St Agnes of the Bohemian ducal house of Przemysl. Like Elizabeth of Thuringia and Hedwig of Andechs, she did good works on behalf of the poor and had connections to St Clara. The letter by Pope John Paul II cannot be published in the CSSR to this day, but it has reached its listeners and their tape recorders as well as printers and readers via broadcasts in Czech and Slovak over Radio Vatican.

Ban from Rome

Now the congregation of the clergy in Rome has published a decree on the very day of the visit of the Czech and Slovak bishops to Rome banning membership in specific unions and political organizations by the clergy "even if these associations to all outward appearances profess to promote human ideals, peace and social progress." There is little doubt that the decree is directed against "Pacem in Terris" in particular. An analysis of the text and a simultaneously published commentary in OSSERVATORE ROMANO makes this clear. Instant dialectics have turned the argument around: the targets, it is being said, are those priests who supported "Charta 77." And, based on an alleged "agreement" between church and state dating from April 1981, the cardinal was made to disinvite all the priests not in possession of a state permit who were to have celebrated the Maundy Thursday services with him.

Well-Frequented Religious Shrines

The language used by the Pope in his address to the five bishops (there should really be 13 according to the number of dioceses) on their visit to Rome was clear with regard to the situation in the CSSR. He made negative reference to the unfilled episcopal sees; the curtailment of education for the priesthood and state control over religious instruction. He viewed as positive the increase in church attendance; the reawakening of religious interest among young people and the unabated adoration of Mary, as evidenced by attendance at places of pilgrimage. John Paul said he had faith in the family and its "natural, religious firmness," in catechesis within the family and the passing-on of the faith in these smallest cells of the community.

A tourist visiting the CSSR will not be able to find these cells very easily unless he has some old-time connections or he is young and can get on the same wavelength after his own fashion. It seems that the renewed vehemence of the persecution of Christians—one cannot call it anything else—does not find the faithful in as isolated a position as it was some years ago. Is there an end in sight of state control over the church in the CSSR then? Perhaps there is because the era of the no longer controllable church has begun.

Secret Church

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 16 Jun 82 p 5

[Article by "J.Rb.": "Prague's 'European' Fears"]

[Text] From the very outset there has been lively interest in the present Pope in the CSSR—not only among the Catholics but even among the top leadership of the Communist Party. That was already in evidence in 1979, shortly after he was chosen. At that time, the primary question for the Prague regime was "what course will the Vatican adopt?" That, in fact, was the headline of a piece which appeared in a Slovak atheist magazine. That first question soon turned into critical remarks and even into warnings. During the Pope's trip to Poland, Prague thought it could detect "certain views and statements" that could be used as "anti-communist propaganda" and seemed to portend a tendency to "build up the Vatican into a bastion of anti-communism once again."

'Secret Church' as a Consequence of Religious Oppression

From that point on, the Prague regime's interest in the Pope's words and deeds continued unabated. When he spoke out in favor of human rights and real freedom of worship, Prague said this was an expression of "militant Catholicism." And the party press found reasons for castigating such expressions of "militant Catholicism" in the CSSR as well and is now attacking clericalism in the form of an alleged "secret church," an "underground church." Prague is conveniently forgetting in this connection that this is by no means a real secret church but merely the consequence of oppressive measures directed against church and religious activities in which believers can only engage in secret today. The regime simply overlooks the fact that this fearsome "secret church" would not exist, if there were real freedom of religion and worship. For that matter—as a leading Catholic Prague theologian stated in a letter to the Pope—this church, viewed as a "secret church" by the state church secretariat and the party leadership, looks upon itself as part of the oppressed church and by no means as a "secret church."

But now Prague is worried about something else and that something else is Europe. This is not a new concern. As early as 1979, representatives of the European communist parties met in Berlin to discuss the consequences of the almost complete economic unification of Western Europe and the beginnings

of political unification as well as the strategic goals being pursued and the steps being taken in this direction. Now, TRIBUNA, the weekly for ideology and policy published by the CPCZ central committee, has gone public with this concern. Since this is being done in an ideological publication, it must be assumed that the efforts directed toward a European unification movement that are evident in Western Europe have not gone unnoticed inside the CSSR. This confronts the leaderships of the communist parties of all these countries with the necessity to counter these "counter-revolutionary" tendencies. They perceive a need to call for watchfulness and ideological defense, since they are quite obviously concerned about the threat to political cohesion and a possible attack on the ideological stability on the citizenry of their none-too-stable countries.

The Idea of a Christian Europe

Prague appears to want to counter this "diversion" in a two-part article in TRIBUNA. The title of the article is: The Idea of a So-Called Christian Europe. It assumes that the Polish Pope assumed his pontificate with a two-fold aim—to lead the church out of its crisis situation and to make it play a role in a multi-faceted offensive aimed at realizing plans to evangelize the entire world. One specific and, at the same time, priority component of this global strategy worked out at Vatican II is this particular idea of a Christian Europe. The Prague publication goes on to say that Europe has always been at the center of all Vatican planning and that a great deal of attention is being devoted to it today as well in the global scheme of things. The reason for this, the article says, is that the socialist social order began in Europe and is well rooted by now and at the same time represents the greatest obstacle to the realization of the Vatican's plans. Thus, despite all the different views regarding the problems of the so-called European base, the Vatican attaches extremely great importance to the process of evangelizing the world.

The fact that the Pope declared Sts Cyril and Methodius to be patron saints of Europe along with St Benedict is interpreted by Prague to be part of the "anti-communist campaign to defend human rights and freedom" even though it is also construed as an attempt at rapprochement with the Eastern Orthodox Church. Still, the Pope's declaration is considered "a factor contributing to the activation of clerical anti-communism and increased demands on the part of the Catholic Church."

The addresses the Pope made in Gniezno during his visit to Poland, his sermon at a mass there and his address to the Polish bishops are also a source of concern to Prague. TRIBUNA quotes the Pope as saying there that "Christianism must give thought about its contribution to the creation of a spiritual unification of Europe" and that "Europe must turn to Christianity once again, since it is spiritual matrix."

These specific characteristics of the Polish Pope's pontificate are underscored, in Prague's view, by the fact that these ideas and tendencies have assumed "a firm place in the ideological-pastoral activities of the local churches." This was also, it is said, the purpose of a Rome symposium of European bishops held in late 1981 where the keynote address was devoted to "The Joint Responsibility of the Bishops' Conference for the Evangelization of Europe Today and Tomorrow." Prague is also watching the joint efforts of the Polish and the West German church in this direction as for example during a visit of a delegation of the German bishops' conference to Poland in September 1980 when Cardinal Ratzinger took up "tendentious elements of the church idea of history and the present ideological significance of the concept of a Christian Europe," as Prague saw it.

Suspensions of Poland

Not surprisingly, the CPCZ central committee, in its concern for Europe, is particularly suspicious of the Catholic church in Poland. Prague must defend itself against "the expansionist plans of Polish clericalism" harbored, it is said, by "a number of high Catholic church leaders in Poland." These were given support by West German Cardinal Ratzinger who said that the church "struggle" in Poland today was "decisive for the interests of the Catholic church in all of Eastern Europe." Since Prague views these "aggressive plans" of the Polish church as part of the efforts toward a unified Europe, all these statements and projects are said to be of an "aggressive nature" inasmuch as "anti-communist forces are attempting to turn Polish clericalism into a bridgehead for the realization of destabilizing forces in the remaining socialist countries." The Pope himself, it is said, has made mention of this "political dimension."

In conclusion, the Prague weekly for ideology and policy points out that the concept of a Christian Europe cannot be separated from other efforts made by the Vatican such as the call for "anti-state" opposition or its attempts to prohibit activities on the part of members of the clergy who support "socialist development."

The Prague party leadership cannot help but view the efforts toward unification of Europe as a threat—very likely due to a concern about ideological awareness and the position the population takes toward socialist internationalism. This threat is being countered. The striking thing about it is that Prague—and not only Prague— ascribes such importance to the Catholic church.

9478
CSO: 2300/298

NEW SOLIDARITY ACTIVITIES, STRUCTURES NOTED

Vienna PROFIL in German No 22, 1 Jun 82 pp 39-40

[Article by Joana Radzyner: "Power as Result of Powerlessness ?"]

[Text] While the Jaruzelski regime feels that "normalization" has succeeded well enough to lift the last remaining travel restrictions on entering Poland, the population is organizing "passive resistance."

Colonel Wislicki, the military commissar on the Polish state radio and television commission, tells the disbelieving party functionaries over and over again: "We must face the facts: Solidarity—or rather its underground replica—is in the process of reorganizing."

He is angered not so much by the frequent leaflet campaigns and underground publications as by the silent resistance of the population. "We cannot forbid them to go for walks, " he says. "We cannot punish the schoolchildren for remaining silent..."

Now that is something the Polish military rulers have really not been able to do as yet. They have not been able to break an opposition that draws its strength from powerlessness; a movement whose only weapon is a symbol and that relies on "passive resistance"—with millions of Poles boycotting the evening TV news each night by going for a walk.

Be it Warsaw, Gdansk or Lublin, there are no children laughing during school recess. The students sit on the floor in the corridors—silent, dully gazing into the distance.

On the 13th day of each month since 13 December last, when martial law was imposed in Poland, there is a minute of silence at 12 noon. In many metropolitan centers, traffic comes to a standstill and when it gets dark, candles are lit in the windows.

Everything that makes up the "new" kind of everyday life in Poland is given undeniably political weight on special occasions—when a huge crowd leaves the 1 May demonstration to parade past Lech Walesa's apartment and to chant "freedom for Lech, chains for Jaruzelski" in front of his windows; when thousands of people in a number of cities lay wreaths and bouquets of flowers at the foot of 200 year-old statues on the anniversary of the liberal Polish constitution of 3 May 1791; all of this happening under the watchful eyes of

the military patrols and all of them knowing full well that some would be detained and some might be arrested. Next day, the flowers are gone. The militia has dispersed the crowd; the smell of tear gas is still in the air. Nonetheless—even before nightfall, there are new flowers at the foot of the statues. And then someone has scrawled a poem on a Warsaw wall. "We have nothing to eat and nothing to drink," it says. "We no longer have a fatherland. We must fight..."

Of course, none of these more or less spontaneous actions go beyond symbolic protest; but they do bear witness to the existence of a massive opposition front among the populace and to the undiminished presence of the spirit of Solidarity.

The partially successful attempts by Radio Solidarity to broadcast its appeals to the people are more spectacular, in spite of the jamming. And so is the growing information system that has grown up in the underground. Underground publications are now estimated at 1,700 titles—a number comparable only to the years of German occupation.

"An organized, country-wide resistance movement is the only chance Poland has," star dissident Jacek Kuron wrote in mid-February from the Bialoleka internment camp. All activists and functionaries of the free Solidarity labor union agree on this, for that matter. What they cannot agree on are the forms this resistance should take, what its aims should be and what basic strategies should be applied in order to turn it a serious power factor.

Kuron has dropped his opposition to violence and is now calling for the organized preparation of a general strike, saying: "For me, the violent overthrow of the occupation is the least evil today." But Solidarity leader Zbigniew Bujak, operating underground, is calling for self-discipline and common sense. "The only effective form of resistance," he says, "is to work for a decentralized, heterogeneously active, country-wide movement. It is the only kind of movement capable of surviving in a modern police state."

Kuron's belief that it would be possible to overthrow the regime through a collective uprising is termed "naive" by Bujak. "The population," he feels, "has come to realize at last that violent confrontation will not solve specific problems." His counter-proposal is to create "alternative" structures of social life—in the underground. He is not only thinking of critical information and publication centers, but also of alternative science and culture. There would be a self-help program with a "committee for social aid" in each parish and a network of "workers' universities" to train union leadership cadres.

"Is a nation in the underground merely a utopian idea," was the question raised by the weekly edition of the Solidarity bulletin MAZOWSZE. The developments of the past few months seem to indicate the opposite.

The "KOS" (committee for social resistance) system has already been institutionalized. Each resistance cell is made up of five confidants from among one's friends each of whom in turn establishes a new cell himself. Operating country-wide, the organization would collect information and pass it along; it would draw up lists of collaborators with the regime and a diary of repressive measures instituted in the workplace; it would organize leaflet campaigns and see to it that the information flow between the individual resistance centers operates properly.

At the factory level, the "TTKZ" (secret provisional factory commission) system has been established where as small as possible a number of trustworthy individuals takes over the functions of the workers council of Solidarity--as a kind of "shadow cabinet." The task of coordinating individual TTKZ activities is entrusted to the "secret provisional coordinating commission" (TTKK).

Power exercised by the powerless, to be sure. Everyday heroes and patriotic desperadoes rally to the fight against the hated regime. As the repressions by the security forces escalate--including random arrests, physical and psychological oppression--so grows apathy and resignation. These are justified and ideologically transcended in the tradition of "positivism" and learning to live with the status quo. Subjected to psychological pressure, people turn into collaborators and police stooges.

The tradition of resistance may be deeply rooted in Poland--every school-child knows the names of the heroes and celebrates their moral victories and is equally aware of their great and numerous defeats throughout Polish history.

But the present resistance movement is something new. The occupiers are their own people; the neighbors next-door; the acquaintances of the day before. And this resistance movement has a mass base as never before which makes it stronger and at the same more vulnerable than any previous one. "There is no way of protecting ourselves against infiltration and sabotage," a Solidarity functionary writes in a letter abroad. "The new enemies are operating on the same terrain as we. It is the soil of our common homeland."

9478
CSO: 2300/297

END